PRIMARY SOURCES (outside NT Canon)

Barrett, NT Backgrounds
Pfeiffer, Apocrypha
Danby, Mishnah

WORKS OF:
Eusebius, Josephus, Philo,
Apostolic Fathers

Use as key refs. outside the NT Canon. Study for History, Geography, (above all) Archaeology, which is really a study of the various aspects concerning the Greco-Roman World and it's relationship to NT times.

F. Z. Fallon

JOSEPHUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN NINE VOLUMES

I

THE LIFE AGAINST APION

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INTRODUCTION

Life

The autobiography which appears in this volume renders unnecessary any detailed life of the author. But, as that work mainly relates to a period of only six months, and needs to be supplemented by other notices which appear in the *War* or elsewhere, the facts may here be briefly summarized.

Son of a priest and with royal blood in his veins on the mother's side, Joseph ben Matthias was born in the year of the accession of Gaius (Caligula) A.D. 37-38. Pontius Pilate had been recalled from Judaea in the previous year; Herod Agrippa I had just received his liberty and kingdom from the new Emperor. The lad's memory might perhaps recall the scenes of excitement aroused in Palestine by the attempt of Caligula to erect his statue in the Temple, when the outbreak of war was narrowly averted (A.D. 40-41). Of his education he tells us of his precocious talents which, at the age of 14, brought learned Rabbis to consult him; how at 16 he entered on what may be called his short university course, when he studied the tenets of the three national sects; how he followed this up by three years of ascetic life in the wilderness, and how, on returning

to Jerusalem at the age of 19, he threw in his lot with the Pharisees. Of his early manhood one outstanding event is related, his visit to Rome at the age of 26 or 27 in the year 64. It was the year of the burning of Rome and the persecution of the Christians, but whether those events preceded his arrival is unknown, and no inference can be drawn from his silence as to his attitude to Christianity. It is idle to conjecture whether, beyond its ostensible object—the liberation of certain Jewish priests—this visit to the capital had any ulterior motive. It impressed him, at any rate, with a sense of Rome's invincibility ; and on his return to Judaea, where he found his countrymen heading for revolt, he vainly endeavoured to pacify the war party. The turbulent state of the country soon brought Cestius Gallus, the Governor of Syria, upon the scene. His unaccountable withdrawal from Jerusalem, when almost within his grasp, was followed by the disastrous rout of his Roman legions in the defiles of Bethhoron in the autumn of 66. The irrevocable step had now been taken and hasty preparations were made for the impending war.

The young priest aged 29, on what qualifications does not appear, was, with two others, entrusted with an important commission in Galilee, if not the actual command of the district. The opening scenes of the Galilaean campaign in A.D. 66-67, which fill most of the pages of the *Life*, are difficult to follow, and the policy and aims both of Josephus and of the Jerusalem leaders are far from clear. We have two accounts of this period, both biased and in some details inconsistent. In the *Life* we have the author's defence against a rival Jewish historian, who accused him and

the Galilaeans of being responsible for the revolt (§ 340); in the *Jewish War* we have a shorter account written under Roman patronage. In the *War* Josephus is represented as having been appointed general of Galilee from the first (*B.* ii. 568); in the *Life* we are merely told that his commission was to induce the hotheads to lay down their arms (*Vita* 29, cp. 77). In a recent suggestive but rather fanciful work (see p. xix below) Herr Laqueur lays stress on this difference and supposes that Josephus acted *ultra vires* in assuming the supreme command of Galilee, and that this accounts for the attempt of John of Gischala to get him superseded. However that may be, he was suspected of harbouring designs of betraying the country to Rome. He may have hoped to avert war by compromise, but events moved fast and forced him to identify himself with the war party. On the advance of Vespasian from Antioch he finally resolved to stand a siege in the fortified town of Jotapata. Of the forty-seven days' siege, the fall of the town (July 67), his capture by the Romans after a narrow escape from being murdered by his companions in hiding, and his prophecy of Vespasian's rise to imperial power, he has given a graphic account in the third book of the *Jewish War*.

Henceforth, in Roman hands, his life was tolerably secure. Military operations were delayed during the eventful year 68–69, which saw the death of Nero and, in rapid succession, the promotion of three Emperors. In July 69 Vespasian's legions took the law into their own hands and proclaimed him Emperor. One of the first acts of the new Emperor was the liberation of Josephus whose prediction had now come true. Accompanying Vespasian to Alex-

andria, Josephus returned thence with Titus to the siege of Jerusalem. Here his services as interpreter and mediator were in constant requisition. He was now, he tells us, between two fires: bitterly hated by the Jews and suspected of treachery by the Romans whenever they met with a reverse.

Of his life in Rome, after the fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), and the various privileges bestowed on him by the Flavian Emperors, he gives us a brief sketch. Awarded the rights of Roman citizenship and a lodging in the *priuata aedes* of Vespasian, he was among the first to be placed on the "civil list" instituted by that Emperor (*V.* 423; Suet. *Vesp.* 18). He witnessed the triumph of Vespasian and Titus, and must have seen the new Rome arising from the ashes in which the fire under Nero and the civil war had left it; the new buildings including the Colosseum, the Fora of Vespasian and Titus and the Temple of Peace. Still dogged by Jewish hatred, he, with unfailing tact, succeeded in retaining the imperial favour, even of Domitian, and eluding his foes. The date of his death is unknown, but he outlived Agrippa II (*V.* 359) who, according to Photius, died in A.D. 100. From Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 9) we learn that his statue was erected in Rome and his works placed in the public library.

His domestic life had its matrimonial troubles. He was married at least three times, being deserted by one wife and divorcing another (*V.* 415, 426 f.).

The Major Works

During the leisure of his life in Rome Josephus produced the four works which have come down to us: the *Jewish War*, the *Antiquities*, the *Life*, and the treatise *Against Apion*.

The two major works will call for further remark in the sequel. Here it will suffice to say that he must have at once taken in hand his History of the *War*; that the first (lost) draft was written in Aramaic for the benefit of the natives of Upper Syria (*B*. i. 3); that, being penned in Vespasian's former palace by his pensioner, it was probably of the nature of a manifesto "inspired" by his imperial patrons, and intended as a warning to the East of the futility of further opposition; that the second, doubtless fuller, edition in Greek was composed with the aid of literary assistants (*Ap*. i. 50) and appeared towards the end of Vespasian's reign, between A.D. 75 and 79.

Some sixteen years elapsed before the appearance of his next work, the *Antiquities*, in A.D. 93–94. The interval must have been spent in collecting materials for this *magnum opus*. But another cause may have contributed to this long break in his literary output. Domitian was the enemy of literature and the position of historians in particular was precarious; writers such as Tacitus, Pliny, and Juvenal preferred to remain silent throughout his reign. Deprived of his imperial patrons, Josephus now found another in a certain Epaphroditus, who is probably to be identified with a grammarian, possessor of a large library and writer on Homer. To him Josephus dedicates all his later works.

At the close of the *Antiquities* (xx. 267 f.) the author

tells us of two further literary projects: (1) a summary sketch of the war and the after-history of his nation; (2) "a work in four books concerning God and His being, and concerning the Laws, why some things are permitted to us by them and others are forbidden." Neither work apparently was ever published; but the second, "On Customs and Causes," as he elsewhere calls it, had, as may be inferred from the mention of four books and scattered allusions in the *Antiquities* to its contents, taken shape in his mind and been partly drafted. The attribution to Josephus by Eusebius (*H.E.* iii. 10) and others of the so-called Fourth Book of Maccabees is erroneous.

The Minor Works

The two minor works contained in this volume are, at least in their present form, the latest of our author's writings. The translator has here abandoned chronological order; but it is perhaps appropriate to place the Autobiography in the forefront. Moreover, the question of its date has recently been re-opened and Laqueur's theory, mentioned below, would, if sound, justify the position of priority assigned to it. The second of the minor works is conveniently grouped with the first.

These two works were issued in old age, when the author was upwards of 63, early in the second century under the Emperor Trajan. The *Life* is brought down to the second century by the allusion (§ 359 f.) to the appearance of a rival history of the War

after the death of Agrippa II, which, we are told, occurred in A.D. 100. The *Contra Apionem* is in any case later than 94, the date of the *Antiquities*, to which reference is made (i. 1, 54; ii. 287). But this work also contains an allusion (i. 46 ff.) to rival historians of the War, and, although no names are here mentioned, the person principally attacked is doubtless the same Justus who is named in the *Life*. The *Contra Apionem* may therefore likewise be assigned to the beginning of the second century.

The two treatises form a strange contrast; we see our author at his worst and at his best. Both are controversial, one being an *apologia pro vita*, the other *pro gente sua*. But in style, arrangement, and treatment they are so different that one would hardly suppose them to be contemporary productions from the same pen.

Vita.—The *Life* is an appendix to the *Antiquities*, and to a second or later edition of the *Antiquities*. It did not appear in the first edition. This is the natural inference from the concluding paragraphs of *Ant.* xx. The larger work has two endings. In the first the author writes (§ 259): "Here I will end my *Archaeology*," and then, after some recapitulation and self-advertisement, he proceeds (266): "But perhaps it will not be taken amiss if I append a brief statement about my family and career while persons still survive either to refute or to corroborate what I say." Then comes the second conclusion, beginning (267): "But here I will close the *Archaeology*;" and the precise date of writing follows, "the 13th year of Domitian and the 56th year of his own age," that is, A.D. 93–94. The *Life*, however, mentioned in the previous section, as already stated, did not appear

until after 100. Clearly we have here two perorations; but the author has reversed the order usual in prefaces to separate editions of modern works. The original ending has been allowed to stand, but he has prefixed to it the conclusion of his second edition, leading up to his new matter, the *Autobiography*.

The event which occasioned this appendix was the publication of a rival history of the Jewish War by a compatriot, Justus of Tiberias, who accused Josephus of causing his native city (Tiberias) to revolt from Rome (§ 336 ff.). The damaging criticisms of Justus were calculated to endanger, not only the sale of Josephus's works, but even his secure position at Rome. They called for an immediate rejoinder. The *Life*, then, by no means answers to its name; it is not a complete biography. The bulk of it is the author's defence of his conduct during the half-year of his command in Galilee before the siege of Jotapata. To this, brief sketches of his youth in Palestine and his later years in Rome have been added as prologue and epilogue. The work, in which the author indulges his vanity to the full, is, alike in matter and in manner, the least satisfactory of his writings. The weakness of his boasted strategy is on a par with the crudity of the style.

A theory has recently been propounded which would go far to explain the latter defect. Herr Laqueur maintains that the kernel of the *Vita* is not among the latest, but the very earliest work of our author, written at the age, not of 65, but of 30. In his opinion, it is an official report of his conduct of affairs in Galilee, drafted, before the siege of Jotapata, for submission to the Jerusalem authorities. It is his

defence against the charge brought against him by John of Gischala and others of aiming at a τυραννίς. This theory is based partly on the disproportionate space devoted to the Galilaean period, partly on a comparison of the parallel accounts in the *Life* and in the *War* in the few passages where they overlap. Laqueur attempts to prove that the *Life* presents the older and more trustworthy account. This unliterary report, of which no use was made at the time, was in after life utilized to meet the attack of Justus, and, with a little revision, worked up into an autobiography. It is an attractive theory. That Josephus should have kept some contemporary record of his period of office appears not improbable. If Laqueur were right, we should have an interesting relic of our author's style of composition before he came under the influence of his literary friends in Rome. If, as appears probable, the whole work is really late, the lack of literary finish must be due to hasty production, unaided by his former assistants (*cf. Ap.* i. 50). The theory seems, in fact, to break down owing to the numerous links of style which connect the *Life* as a whole with the last book of the *Antiquities*, suggesting contemporaneous or nearly contemporaneous composition. Laqueur's thesis, in that case, is only tenable on the supposition that the youthful "report" was written in Aramaic.

Phrases which are peculiar to the alleged "early" portions of the *Life* and to *Ant.* xx. are: φόβος οὔτι μέτριος *V.* 22, 148 (cp. 122), *A.* xx. 47; κατάγνωσιν φέρειν τινι *V.* 93, *A.* xx. 83; ταραχὰς (-ὴν) καταστέλλειν *V.* 103, 244, 369, *A.* xx. 174; ὡς εἶδον εἰς οἷον κακῶν ἥκουσι μέγεθος *V.* 170, *A.* xx. 123. Among other words and phrases peculiar to the two books are: οὐκ (οὐδὲν) ἀποδέουσα (ἀκρο)πόλεως "as large as" *V.* 246, *A.* xx. 130, ἀποστολή, διὰ φιλίας ἀφικέσθαι, πόρον σωτηρίας εὑρέσθαι *V.* 14, *A.* xx. 54, προστασίαν πιστεύεσθαι *V.* 115, 393,

A. xx. 238, συναναπείθειν *V.* 424, *A.* xx. 35, συνέδριον καθίζειν *V.* 236, 368, *A.* xx. 200, τάξιν ἐπιστολῶν πιστεύειν *V.* 356, *A.* xx. 183.

Contra Apionem.—As a set-off to the *Life*, the treatise *Contra Apionem*, in two books, is the most attractive of our author's works; exhibiting a well designed plan, great literary skill, an intimate acquaintance with Greek philosophy and poetry, together with a sincere and impassioned zeal for his country's religion. The title (not the author's) is not very happily chosen; Apion being merely one representative of Israel's enemies. Older titles were "On the antiquity of the Jews" (not sufficiently distinctive) and "Against the Greeks." Designed as a reply to criticisms on the *Antiquities* and a refutation of current prejudices, the work contains an apology for Judaism with a demonstration of the antiquity of the race. It gives an interesting insight into the anti-Semitism of the first century. The writer challenges the extreme antiquity claimed by the Greeks; accounts for their silence on Jewish history; marshals an array of evidence (Egyptian, Phoenician, Babylonian, and Greek) for the antiquity of his own nation; successfully rebuts the malignant and absurd fictions of the anti-Semites; and concludes with a glowing defence of the lawgiver and his code, his lofty conception of God being contrasted with the immoral ideas current among the Greeks. Numerous quotations from lost writings give this work a special value.

MSS. and other ancient Authorities for the Greek Text

(*a*) For the *Life* :—

P Codex Palatinus (Vaticanus) Graecus 14, cent ix. or x.
R Codex Regius (Parisinus) Gr. 1423, cent. xiv.
A Codex Ambrosianus (Mediolanensis) F. 128, cent. xi.
M Codex Mediceo-Laurentianus, plut. lxix., cod 10, cent. xv.
W Codex Vaticanus Gr. 984, A.D. 1354.

Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 10) quotes §§ 361-364; we have also occasional excerpts made in the Byzantine era.

The MSS. may be roughly divided into two groups P(R) and (A)MW, in which R and A are inconstant members. A as a rule sides with MW ; R frequently joins that group or stands alone. Of the two modern editors, Niese bases his text mainly on the oldest MS., P ; Naber puts greater faith in the readings of the group AMW.

All textual critics of Josephus must gratefully acknowledge their indebtedness to Niese and their dependence upon the evidence collected in his edition. Yet one may respectfully question whether he has established a definitive text. As Naber has remarked, he seems to have somewhat overrated the value of a single ill-written MS., and the true text or the nearest approximation to it is sometimes relegated to his *apparatus criticus*. The difficulties which confront the editor of Josephus arise from a comparative

paucity of ancient MSS., the inconstancy of some MSS., which renders grouping uncertain, and the fact that corruption has often affected the text of all. Each variant has to be considered on its merits; and there is considerable scope for conjectural emendation, on which many eminent scholars have exercised their ingenuity. If Niese over-estimated the value of P, Naber seems to have relied too exclusively on AMW. Speaking generally, the present writer ventures to think that the true text in this book is as a rule to be looked for in P, R, or A; the combination PRA is rarely in error. MW in numerous passages present a manifestly inferior and "doctored" text; yet elsewhere, especially if supported by P, their evidence cannot be neglected. The text printed below, while based on the labours of Niese and Naber, is the outcome of a careful and independent investigation of the MS. evidence in all cases.

(*b*) For the *Contra Apionem* :—

Here we are dependent on a solitary imperfect MS. viz.

L Codex Laurentianus plut. lxix. 22, cent. xi,

of which all other extant MSS. appear to be copies. For the long lacuna common to all the MSS. (Book II §§ 52-113) we are compelled to have recourse to the old Latin version made by order of Cassiodorus, the minister of Theodoric (ed. C. Boysen in the Vienna *Corpus Scriptorum Eccles. Lat.* vol. xxxvii., 1898). Here the restoration of the underlying Greek, which the Latin translator has not always understood, is a difficult task. Numerous valuable quotations are made by Eusebius. The text seems to have passed

through various stages of corruption, which began even before his time, and glosses have occasionally crept into the text of cod. L. In Niese's judgement the relative value of our authorities is (1) Eusebius, (2) the Latin version, (3) cod. L. The *editio princeps* of the Greek text (Basel, 1544) is of first-rate importance and seems to be derived in part from some MS. unknown to Niese.

Recent Editions of the Greek Text

B. Niese. *Editio major* (with full *apparatus criticus*), 6 vols. Berlin, 1887–1889.

B. Niese. *Editio minor* (text only), 6 vols., Berlin, 1888–1895.

S. A. Naber (text, based on Bekker's edition, with useful concise *adnotatio critica*), 6 vols., Teubner series, Leipzig, 1888–1896.

Other Works

For the *Life* the reader may consult, with discrimination, the suggestive but speculative work of Richard Laqueur, *Der jüdische Historiker Flavius Josephus (ein biographischer Versuch auf neuer quellenkritischer Grundlage)*, Giessen, 1920.

For the *Contra Apionem* there is a full commentary by J. G. Müller (Basel, 1877) and a French translation, with valuable notes by the editor, in *Œuvres complètes de Flav. Josèphe traduites en Français sous la direction de Théodore Reinach,* tome vii. fasc. 1 (Paris, 1902).

Abbreviations

A. = *Antiquitates Judaicae.*
Ap. = *Contra Apionem.*
B. = *Bellum Judaicum.*
V. = *Vita.*
conj. = conjectural emendation.
ed. pr. = *editio princeps* (Basel, 1544).
Eus. (*H. E.*; *P. E.*) = Eusebius (*Historia Ecclesiastica*; *Praeparatio Evangelica*).
ins. = inserted by. *om.* = omit.

Conjectural insertions in the Greek text are indicated by angular brackets, < >; doubtful MS. readings and apparent glosses by square brackets, [ ].

The smaller sections introduced by Niese are shown in the left margin of the Greek text. References throughout are to these sections. The chapter-division of earlier editions is indicated on both pages (Greek and English).

Alii laborauerunt; and the present translator here gratefully acknowledges his constant indebtedness to the work of numerous scholars of various nationalities, notably Benedict Niese, Théodore Reinach, and (for the *Life* and the *War*) Robert Traill. The older translation of William Whiston has also been occasionally consulted.

He further desires to acknowledge the kind permission of the editors and publishers of *Judaism and the Beginnings of Christianity* (Routledge) to use for this Introduction portions of a lecture included in that volume, which he delivered at Jews' College, London, in 1923.

LIFE OF JOSEPHUS

ΙΩΣΗΠΟΥ ΒΙΟΣ

1 (1) Ἐμοὶ δὲ γένος ἐστὶν οὐκ ἄσημον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ
ἱερέων ἄνωθεν καταβεβηκός. ὥσπερ δ᾽ ἡ[1] παρ᾽
ἑκάστοις ἄλλη τίς ἐστιν εὐγενείας ὑπόθεσις, οὕτως
παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἡ τῆς ἱερωσύνης μετουσία τεκμήριόν
2 ἐστιν γένους λαμπρότητος. ἐμοὶ δ᾽ οὐ μόνον
ἐξ ἱερέων ἐστὶν τὸ γένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρώτης
ἐφημερίδος τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων, πολλὴ δὲ κἀν
τούτῳ διαφορά, καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ φυλῶν ἐκ τῆς
ἀρίστης. ὑπάρχω δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους
ἀπὸ τῆς μητρός· οἱ γὰρ Ἀσαμωναίου παῖδες, ὧν
ἔγγονος ἐκείνη, τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν ἐπὶ μήκιστον
3 χρόνον ἠρχιεράτευσαν καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν. ἐρῶ δὲ
τὴν διαδοχήν. ὁ πρόπαππος ἡμῶν Σίμων ὁ
Ψελλὸς ἐπικαλούμενος· οὗτος ἐγένετο καθ᾽ ὃν
καιρὸν ἠρχιεράτευσεν Σίμωνος ἀρχιερέως ὁ παῖς,
ὃς πρῶτος ἀρχιερέων Ὑρκανὸς ὠνομάσθη. γί-
4 νονται δὲ τῷ Ψελλῷ Σίμωνι παῖδες ἐννέα· τού-
των ἐστὶν Ματθίας ὁ Ἠφαίου[2] λεγόμενος. οὗτος
ἠγάγετο πρὸς γάμον θυγατέρα Ἰωνάθου ἀρχιερέως,
τοῦ πρώτου ἐκ τῶν Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων γένους

[1] δ᾽ ἡ Niese: δὴ (δὲ) MSS.
[2] *v.ll.* Ἡφιλίου, Ἡφλίου.

[a] *i.e.* that of Jehoiarib (1 Chron. xxiv. 7). In *A.* vii. 366 Jos. states that the division of the priests into twenty-four

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(1) My family is no ignoble one, tracing its descent far back to priestly ancestors. Different races base their claim to nobility on various grounds; with us a connexion with the priesthood is the hallmark of an illustrious line. Not only, however, were my ancestors priests, but they belonged to the first of the twenty-four courses[a]—a peculiar distinction—and to the most eminent of its constituent clans. Moreover, on my mother's side I am of royal blood; for the posterity of Asamonaeus,[b] from whom she sprang, for a very considerable period were kings, as well as high-priests, of our nation. I will give the pedigree. My great-grandfather's grandfather was Simon surnamed Psellus.[c] He was a contemporary of the high-priest Hyrcanus, the first of the name to hold that office, previously held by his father Simon. Simon "the stammerer" had nine children, one of whom, Matthias, known as the son of Ephaeus, married the daughter of Jonathan the high-priest, who was the first of the line of Asamonaeus to attain to the high-priesthood,[d]

Pedigree.

c. 153 B.C.

"families" continued to his day. On the contrary *Ap.* ii. 108 (extant only in the Latin version) speaks of four courses (*tribus*) only.

[b] The Hasmonaeans or Maccabees, called after an eponymous hero Hashmon.

[c] *i.e.* "The Stammerer."

[d] 1 Macc. x. 21.

ἀρχιερατεύσαντος, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Σίμωνος τἀρχ-
ιερέως· καὶ γίνεται παῖς αὐτῷ Ματθίας ὁ Κυρτὸς
ἐπικληθείς, ἄρχοντος Ὑρκανοῦ τὸν πρῶτον ἐνι-
5 αυτόν. τούτου γίνεται Ἰώσηπος ἐνάτῳ ἔτει τῆς
Ἀλεξάνδρας ἀρχῆς, καὶ Ἰωσήπου Ματθίας βασι-
λεύοντος Ἀρχελάου τὸ δέκατον, Ματθία δὲ ἐγὼ
τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας. ἐμοὶ
δὲ παῖδές εἰσι τρεῖς, Ὑρκανὸς μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτατος
ἔτει τετάρτῳ τῆς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Καίσαρος ἡγεμο-
νίας, ἑβδόμῳ δὲ Ἰοῦστος, ἐνάτῳ δὲ Ἀγρίππας.
6 τὴν μὲν οὖν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν διαδοχήν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς
δημοσίαις δέλτοις ἀναγεγραμμένην εὗρον, οὕτως
παρατίθεμαι, τοῖς διαβάλλειν ἡμᾶς πειρωμένοις
χαίρειν φράσας.
7 (2) Ὁ πατὴρ δέ μου Ματθίας οὐ διὰ μόνην τὴν
εὐγένειαν ἐπίσημος ἦν, ἀλλὰ πλέον διὰ τὴν δικαιο-
σύνην ἐπῃνεῖτο, γνωριμώτατος ὢν ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ
8 πόλει τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις. ἐγὼ
δὲ συμπαιδευόμενος ἀδελφῷ Ματθίᾳ τοὔνομα,
γεγόνει γάρ μοι γνήσιος ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τῶν γονέων,
εἰς μεγάλην παιδείας προὔκοπτον ἐπίδοσιν, μνήμῃ
9 τε καὶ συνέσει δοκῶν διαφέρειν. ἔτι δ' ἀντίπαις
ὢν περὶ τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἔτος διὰ τὸ φιλογράμ-
ματον ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπῃνούμην, συνιόντων ἀεὶ τῶν
ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως πρώτων ὑπὲρ τοῦ
παρ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τῶν νομίμων ἀκριβέστερόν τι
10 γνῶναι. περὶ ἑκκαίδεκα δὲ ἔτη γενόμενος ἐβου-
λήθην τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν αἱρέσεων ἐμπειρίαν λαβεῖν·
τρεῖς δ' εἰσὶν αὗται, Φαρισαίων μὲν ἡ πρώτη καὶ
Σαδδουκαίων ἡ δευτέρα, τρίτη δ' Ἐσσηνῶν, καθὼς
πολλάκις εἴπομεν· οὕτως γὰρ ᾠόμην αἱρήσεσθαι
11 τὴν ἀρίστην, εἰ πάσας καταμάθοιμι. σκληραγω-

and brother of Simon who also held that office. Matthias, in the first year of the reign of Hyrcanus, *c.* 135 B.C. had a son Matthias, surnamed Curtus[a]; who, in the ninth year of the reign of Alexandra, begot *c.* 70 B.C. Joseph, and he, in the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus, Matthias, to whom I was born in the *c.* A.D. 6. year in which Gaius Caesar became Emperor. I A.D. 37-8. have three sons: Hyrcanus, the eldest, born in the fourth, Justus in the seventh, and Agrippa in the *c.* A.D. 73-78. ninth year of the reign of Vespasian Caesar. With such a pedigree, which I cite as I find it recorded in the public registers, I can take leave of the would-be detractors of my family.

(2) Distinguished as he was by his noble birth, Education. my father Matthias was even more esteemed for his upright character, being among the most notable men in Jerusalem, our greatest city. Brought up with Matthias, my own brother by both parents, I made great progress in my education, gaining a reputation for an excellent memory and understanding. While still a mere boy, about fourteen years A.D. 51-2. old, I won universal applause for my love of letters; insomuch that the chief priests and the leading men of the city used constantly to come to me for precise information on some particular in our ordinances. At about the age of sixteen I determined to gain A.D. 53-4. personal experience of the several sects into which our nation is divided. These, as I have frequently mentioned,[b] are three in number—the first that of the Pharisees, the second that of the Sadducees, and the third that of the Essenes. I thought that, after a thorough investigation, I should be in a position to select the best. So I submitted myself

[a] "Hump-back." [b] See *B.* ii. 119; *A.* xiii. 171, xviii. 11.

γήσας οὖν ἐμαυτὸν καὶ πολλὰ πονηθεὶς τὰς τρεῖς
διῆλθον· καὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἐμπειρίαν ἱκανὴν
ἐμαυτῷ νομίσας εἶναι, πυθόμενός τινα Βαννοῦν
ὄνομα κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν διατρίβειν, ἐσθῆτι μὲν ἀπὸ
δένδρων χρώμενον, τροφὴν δὲ τὴν αὐτομάτως
φυομένην προσφερόμενον, ψυχρῷ δὲ ὕδατι τὴν
ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πολλάκις λουόμενον πρὸς
12 ἁγνείαν, ζηλωτὴς ἐγενόμην αὐτοῦ. καὶ διατρίψας
παρ᾽ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν
τελειώσας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεφον. ἐννεακαι-
δέκατον δ᾽ ἔτος ἔχων ἠρξάμην [τε] πολιτεύεσθαι
τῇ Φαρισαίων αἱρέσει κατακολουθῶν, ἣ παρα-
πλήσιός ἐστι τῇ παρ᾽ Ἕλλησι Στωικῇ λεγομένῃ.

13 (3) Μετ᾽ εἰκοστὸν δὲ καὶ ἕκτον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς
Ῥώμην μοι συνέπεσεν ἀναβῆναι διὰ τὴν λεχθησο-
μένην αἰτίαν. καθ᾽ ὃν χρόνον Φῆλιξ τῆς Ἰουδαίας
ἐπετρόπευεν, ἱερεῖς τινας συνήθεις ἐμοὶ καλοὺς
κἀγαθοὺς διὰ μικρὰν καὶ τὴν τυχοῦσαν αἰτίαν
δήσας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμψε, λόγον ὑφέξοντας
14 τῷ Καίσαρι. οἷς ἐγὼ πόρον εὑρέσθαι βουλόμενος
σωτηρίας, μάλιστα δὲ πυθόμενος ὅτι καίπερ ἐν
κακοῖς ὄντες οὐκ ἐπελάθοντο τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον
εὐσεβείας, διατρέφοιντο δὲ σύκοις καὶ καρύοις,
ἀφικόμην εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πολλὰ κινδυνεύσας κατὰ
15 θάλασσαν. βαπτισθέντος γὰρ ἡμῶν τοῦ πλοίου
κατὰ μέσον τὸν Ἀδρίαν, περὶ ἑξακοσίους τὸν
ἀριθμὸν ὄντες δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐνηξάμεθα, καὶ
περὶ ἀρχομένην ἡμέραν ἐπιφανέντος ἡμῖν κατὰ
θεοῦ πρόνοιαν Κυρηναϊκοῦ πλοίου, φθάσαντες τοὺς
ἄλλους ἐγώ τε καί τινες ἕτεροι περὶ ὀγδοήκοντα

to hard training and laborious exercises and passed through the three courses. Not content, however, with the experience thus gained, on hearing of one named Bannus, who dwelt in the wilderness, wearing only such clothing as trees provided,[a] feeding on such things as grew of themselves, and using frequent ablutions of cold water, by day and night, for purity's sake, I became his devoted disciple. With him I lived for three years and, having accomplished my purpose, returned to the city. Being now in my nineteenth year I began to govern my life by the rules of the Pharisees, a sect having points of resemblance to that which the Greeks call the Stoic school. A.D. 56-7.

(3) Soon after I had completed my twenty-sixth year it fell to my lot to go up to Rome for the reason which I will proceed to relate. At the time when Felix was procurator of Judaea, certain priests of my acquaintance, very excellent men, were on a slight and trifling charge sent by him in bonds to Rome to render an account to Caesar.[b] I was anxious to discover some means of delivering these men, more especially as I learnt that, even in affliction, they had not forgotten the pious practices of religion, and supported themselves on figs and nuts.[c] I reached Rome after being in great jeopardy at sea. For our ship foundered in the midst of the sea of Adria, and our company of some six hundred souls had to swim all that night. About daybreak, through God's good providence, we sighted a ship of Cyrene, and I and certain others, about eighty in all, out- A visit to Rome. c. A.D. 64.

[a] Made of leaves or, perhaps, bark. [b] Nero.
[c] To avoid eating εἰδωλόθυτα, *i.e.* meat left over from heathen sacrifices; *cf.* 1 Cor. viii.

16 σύμπαντες ἀνελήφθημεν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον. διασωθεὶς
δ' εἰς τὴν Δικαιάρχειαν, ἣν Ποτιόλους Ἰταλοὶ
καλοῦσιν, διὰ φιλίας ἀφικόμην Ἀλιτύρῳ, μιμο-
λόγος δ' ἦν οὗτος μάλιστα[1] τῷ Νέρωνι καταθύμιος,
Ἰουδαῖος τὸ γένος, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ Ποππαίᾳ[2] τῇ τοῦ
Καίσαρος γυναικὶ γνωρισθεὶς προνοῶ ὡς τάχιστα
παρακαλέσας αὐτὴν τοὺς ἱερεῖς λυθῆναι. μεγάλων
δὲ δωρεῶν πρὸς τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ ταύτῃ τυχὼν παρὰ
τῆς Ποππαίας ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν.
17 (4) Καταλαμβάνω δ' ἤδη νεωτερισμῶν ἀρχὰς καὶ
πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάσει μέγα φρο-
νοῦντας. καταστέλλειν οὖν ἐπειρώμην τοὺς στα-
σιώδεις καὶ μετανοεῖν ἔπειθον, ποιησαμένους πρὸ
ὀφθαλμῶν πρὸς οὓς πολεμήσουσιν, ὅτι Ῥωμαίων
οὐ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν μόνον πολεμικὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ'
18 εὐτυχίαν ἐλαττοῦνται, καὶ μὴ προπετῶς καὶ παντά-
πασιν ἀνοήτως πατρίσι καὶ γενεαῖς καὶ σφίσιν
αὐτοῖς τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κακῶν κίνδυνον
19 ἐπάγειν. ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγον καὶ λιπαρῶς ἐνεκείμην
ἀποτρέπων, δυστυχέστατον ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου τὸ
τέλος γενήσεσθαι προορώμενος. οὐ μὴν ἔπεισα·
πολὺ γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἀπονοηθέντων ἐπεκράτησεν μανία.
20 (5) Δείσας οὖν μὴ ταῦτα συνεχῶς λέγων διὰ
μίσους ἀφικοίμην καὶ ὑποψίας ὡς τὰ τῶν πολεμίων
φρονῶν καὶ κινδυνεύσω ληφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀν-
αιρεθῆναι, ἐχομένης ἤδη τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ὅπερ ἦ[a]
21 φρούριον, εἰς τὸ ἐνδοτέρω ἱερὸν ὑπεχώρησα. μετὰ

[1] Bekker: κάλ[λ]ιστα MSS.
[2] The MSS. read Ποπλία or Πομπηΐα; and so below.

[a] At the N.-W. corner of the temple, which it dominated; so called by Herod after Mark Antony. The "castle" of Acts xxi. 34.

stripped the others and were taken on board. Landing safely at Dicaearchia, which the Italians call Puteoli, I formed a friendship with Aliturus, an actor who was a special favourite of Nero and of Jewish origin. Through him I was introduced to Poppaea, Caesar's consort, and took the earliest opportunity of soliciting her aid to secure the liberation of the priests. Having, besides this favour, received large gifts from Poppaea, I returned to my own country.

(4) There I found revolutionary movements already on foot and widespread elation at the prospect of revolt from Rome. I accordingly endeavoured to repress these promoters of sedition and to bring them over to another frame of mind. I urged them to picture to themselves the nation on which they were about to make war, and to remember that they were inferior to the Romans, not only in military skill, but in good fortune; and I warned them not recklessly and with such utter madness to expose their country, their families and themselves to the direst perils. With such words I earnestly and insistently sought to dissuade them from their purpose, foreseeing that the end of the war would be most disastrous for us. But my efforts were unavailing; the madness of these desperate men was far too strong for me.

The eve of war.

(5) I now feared that my incessant reiteration of this warning would bring me into odium and the suspicion of siding with the enemy, and that I should run the risk of being arrested by them and put to death. I therefore sought asylum in the inner court of the Temple; the fortress of Antonia[a] being already in their hands. When Menahem and

δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν Μαναήμου καὶ τῶν πρώτων τοῦ ληστρικοῦ στίφους ὑπεξελθὼν τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάλιν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Φαρισαίων
22 συνδιέτριβον. φόβος δ' οὔτι μέτριος εἶχεν ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντας τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, αὐτοὶ δ' ὄντες ἐν ἀπόρῳ τί ποιήσωμεν, καὶ τοὺς νεωτεριστὰς παύειν οὐ δυνάμενοι· προδήλου δ' ἡμῖν τοῦ κινδύνου παρεστῶτος, συγκατανεύειν μὲν αὐτῶν ταῖς γνώμαις ἐλέγομεν, συνεβουλεύομεν δὲ μένειν ἐφ' αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπελθόντας[1] ἐᾶν, ἵνα τοῦ
23 δικαίως ἀνταίρειν ὅπλα πίστιν εὕρωνται. ταῦτα δ' ἐπράττομεν ἐλπίζοντες οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν Κέστιον μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ἀναβάντα παύσειν τὸν νεωτερισμόν.

24 (6) Ὁ δ' ἐπελθὼν καὶ συμβαλὼν μάχῃ ἐνικήθη πολλῶν τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ πεσόντων. καὶ γίνεται τὸ Κεστίου πταῖσμα συμφορὰ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἡμῶν ἔθνους· ἐπήρθησαν γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μᾶλλον οἱ τὸν πόλεμον ἀγαπήσαντες καὶ νικήσαντες[2] τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰς τέλος ἤλπισαν, προσγενομένης καὶ
25 ἑτέρας τινὸς τοιαύτης αἰτίας. οἱ τὰς πέριξ τῆς Συρίας πόλεις κατοικοῦντες τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτοῖς Ἰουδαίους συλλαμβάνοντες σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀνῄρουν, οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν ἐπικαλεῖν ἔχοντες· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάσει νεώτερόν τι πεφρονήκεσαν οὔτε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἐχθρὸν ἢ
26 ἐπίβουλον. Σκυθοπολῖται δὲ πάντων ἀσεβέστατα καὶ παρανομώτατα διεπράξαντο· ἐπελθόντων γὰρ

[1] *v.l.* ἀπελθόντας. [2] Perhaps νικήσειν should be read.

[a] *Cf. B.* ii. 433-448. Menahem, with some irregular troops, took the lead of the anti-Roman party, and was then murdered by a rival faction.

the chieftains of the band of brigands had been put to death[a] I ventured out of the Temple and once more consorted with the chief priests and the leading Pharisees. We were, however, in a state of great alarm; we saw the populace in arms and were at a loss what to do ourselves, being powerless to check the revolutionaries. In such obvious and imminent peril we professed to concur in their views, but suggested that they should make no move and leave the enemy alone if he advanced,[b] in order to gain the credit of resorting to arms only in just self-defence. In so doing we had hopes that ere long Cestius[c] would come up with a large army and quell the revolution.

(6) He came indeed, but in the engagement which ensued was defeated with great loss.[d] This reverse of Cestius proved disastrous to our whole nation; for those who were bent on war were thereby still more elated and, having once defeated the Romans, hoped to continue victorious to the end. To add to this, they had a further ground for hostility. The inhabitants of the surrounding cities of Syria proceeded to lay hands on and kill, with their wives and children, the Jewish residents among them, without the slightest ground of complaint; for they had neither entertained any idea of revolt from Rome nor harboured any enmity or designs against the Syrians. The most outrageous and criminal action of all was that perpetrated by the natives of Scythopolis.[e] Being attacked by hostile Jews from

Defeat of Cestius, A.D. 66.

Massacres of Jewish residents in Syria.

[b] Text and meaning uncertain; perhaps "allow the enemy to retire." A Roman garrison was besieged in Jerusalem, forced to capitulate, and then treacherously murdered: *B.* ii. 449 ff.

[c] Governor of Syria. [d] *B.* ii. 499 ff.

[e] Bethshan (of the Old Testament), mod. Beisan.

αὐτοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἔξωθεν πολεμίων, τοὺς παρ' αὑτοῖς Ἰουδαίους ἐβιάσαντο κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ὅπλα λαβεῖν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἀθέμιτον, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων συμβαλόντες ἐκράτησαν τῶν ἐπελθόντων· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐνίκησαν, ἐκλαθόμενοι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐνοίκους καὶ συμμάχους πίστεως πάντας αὐτοὺς
27 διεχρήσαντο πολλὰς μυριάδας ὄντας. ὅμοια δ' ἔπαθον καὶ οἱ τὴν Δαμασκὸν Ἰουδαῖοι κατοικοῦντες. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀκριβέστερον ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου βίβλοις δεδηλώκαμεν· νῦν δ' αὐτῶν ἐπεμνήσθην βουλόμενος παραστῆσαι τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν ὅτι οὐ προαίρεσις ἐγένετο τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους Ἰουδαίοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλέον ἀνάγκη.

28 (7) Νικηθέντος οὖν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, τοῦ Κεστίου, τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι θεασάμενοι τοὺς μὲν λῃστὰς ἅμα τοῖς νεωτερισταῖς εὐπορουμένους ὅπλων, δείσαντες δ' αὐτοὶ μὴ ἄνοπλοι καθεστηκότες ὑποχείριοι γένωνται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ὃ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συνέβη, καὶ πυθόμενοι τὴν Γαλιλαίαν οὔπω πᾶσαν Ῥωμαίων ἀφεστάναι, μέρος δ' αὐτῆς ἠρεμεῖν ἔτι,
29 πέμπουσιν ἐμὲ καὶ δύο ἄλλους τῶν ἱερέων καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, Ἰωάζαρον[1] καὶ Ἰούδαν, πείσοντας τοὺς πονηροὺς καταθέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ διδάξοντας ὡς ἔστιν ἄμεινον τοῖς κρατίστοις τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτὰ τηρεῖσθαι. ἔγνωστο δὲ τούτοις ἀεὶ μὲν ἔχειν τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἕτοιμα, περιμένειν δὲ τί πράξουσιν Ῥωμαῖοι μαθεῖν.
30 (8) Λαβὼν οὖν ἐγὼ τὰς ὑποθήκας ταύτας ἀφ-

[1] *v.l.* Ἰώζαρον.

another quarter, they compelled their own Jewish residents to bear arms against their compatriots, which we are forbidden to do, and with their assistance engaged and defeated the invaders; and then, after the victory, with no thought of the allegiance due to fellow-citizens and confederates, put them all, to the number of many thousands, to the sword. The Jewish residents in Damascus met with a similar fate. I have given a more detailed account of these incidents in my volumes on the Jewish War;[a] and I merely allude to them here from a desire to convince my readers that the war with the Romans was due not so much to the deliberate choice of the Jews as to necessity.

(7) After the defeat of Cestius, already mentioned, the leading men in Jerusalem, observing that the brigands and revolutionaries were well provided with arms, feared that, being without weapons themselves, they might be left at the mercy of their adversaries, as in fact eventually happened. Being informed, moreover, that the whole of Galilee had not yet revolted from Rome, and that a portion of it was still tranquil, they dispatched me with two other priests, Joazar and Judas, men of excellent character, to induce the disaffected to lay down their arms and to impress upon them the desirability of reserving these for the picked men of the nation. The latter, such was the policy determined on, were to have their weapons constantly in readiness for future contingencies, but should wait and see what action the Romans would take.

Mission of Josephus to Galilee.

(8) With these instructions I came into Galilee.

[a] *B.* ii. 466 ff., 559 ff. For the phraseology *cf. Ap.* ii. 287.

ικόμην εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. καὶ Σεπφωρίτας μὲν οὐκ
ἐν ὀλίγῳ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγῶνι καθεστῶτας
εὗρον, διαρπάσαι κεκρικότων αὐτὴν τῶν Γαλιλαίων
διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐκείνων φιλίαν καὶ ὅτι
Κεστίῳ Γάλλῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμονεύοντι δεξιάν
31 τε καὶ πίστιν προτείνειαν. ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ἐγὼ
πάντας[1] ἀπήλλαξα τοῦ φόβου, πείσας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
τὰ πλήθη καὶ ἐπιτρέψας ὁσάκις θέλουσι διαπέμ-
πεσθαι πρὸς[2] τοὺς ἐν Δώροις οἰκείους ὁμηρεύοντας
Κεστίῳ· τὰ δὲ Δῶρα πόλις ἐστὶν τῆς Φοινίκης.
τοὺς ἐν Τιβεριάδι δὲ κατοικοῦντας εὗρον ἐφ' ὅπλα
κεχωρηκότας ἤδη δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην.
32 (9) Στάσεις τρεῖς ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, μία μὲν
ἀνδρῶν εὐσχημόνων, ἦρχε δ' αὐτῆς Ἰούλιος Κάπελ-
33 λος. οὗτος δὴ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πάντες, Ἡρώδης
ὁ Μιαροῦ καὶ Ἡρώδης ὁ τοῦ Γαμάλου καὶ Κομψὸς
ὁ τοῦ Κομψοῦ· Κρίσπος γὰρ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, τοῦ
μεγάλου βασιλέως γενόμενός ποτε ἔπαρχος, ἐν ταῖς
ἰδίαις κτήσεσιν ἐτύγχανεν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου·
34 πάντες οὖν οἱ προειρημένοι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον
ἐμμένειν συνεβούλευον τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
καὶ τὸν βασιλέα πίστει. τῇ γνώμῃ δ' οὐ συν-
ηρέσκετο Πίστος παραγόμενος[3] ὑπὸ Ἰούστου τοῦ
35 παιδός· καὶ γὰρ ἦν φύσει πως ἐπιμανής. ἡ δευτέρα
δὲ στάσις ἐξ ἀσημοτάτων συνεστηκυῖα πολεμεῖν
36 ἔκρινεν. Ἰοῦστος δ' ὁ Πίστου παῖς, ὁ τῆς τρίτης
μερίδος πρῶτος, ὑπεκρίνετο μὲν ἐνδοιάζειν πρὸς
τὸν πόλεμον, νεωτέρων δ' ἐπεθύμει πραγμάτων, ἐκ
τῆς μεταβολῆς οἰόμενος δύναμιν ἑαυτῷ περι-
37 ποιήσειν. παρελθὼν οὖν εἰς μέσους διδάσκειν

[1] παντὸς conj. Niese. [2] So the *editio princeps*: MSS. διὰ.
[3] Dindorf: παραγενόμενος MSS.

I found the inhabitants of Sepphoris in great distress concerning their native place, which the Galilaeans had decided to pillage because of their leanings towards the Romans and the overtures of loyalty and allegiance which they had made to Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria. I, however, entirely allayed their fears, by exerting my influence with the populace on their behalf, and by the permission which I gave them to communicate as freely as they chose with their fellow-citizens, who were held as hostages to Cestius at Dora, a city of Phoenicia.

Condition of Galilee: (i.) Sepphoris: pro-Roman.

The inhabitants of Tiberias, on the other hand, had, I found, already proceeded to hostilities under the following circumstances.

(ii.) Tiberias: the three factions.

(9) There were three factions in this city. The first consisted of respectable citizens, headed by Julius Capellus. He and his associates, Herod son of Miarus, Herod son of Gamalus, and Compsus son of Compsus (I do not include his brother Crispus, formerly prefect under the great king,[a] as he was absent on his estates beyond Jordan) were at that time unanimous in recommending the city to continue its allegiance to the Romans and the king.[b] These views were not shared by Pistus, who, besides the malign influence of his son Justus, had a strain of madness in his nature. The second faction, composed of the most insignificant persons, was bent on war. Justus, son of Pistus, the ringleader of the third party, while feigning hesitation on the subject of hostilities, was really eager for revolution, reckoning that a change of government would bring him into power. So he came forward

[a] Herod Agrippa I.

[b] Agrippa II.

ἐπειρᾶτο τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἡ πόλις ἀεὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας
ἄρξειεν ἐπί γε τῶν Ἡρώδου χρόνων τοῦ τετράρχου
καὶ κτίστου γενομένου, βουληθέντος αὐτοῦ τὴν
Σεπφωριτῶν πόλιν τῇ Τιβεριέων ὑπακούειν, ἀπο-
βαλεῖν[1] δὲ τὸ πρωτεῖον αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ
βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα τοῦ πατρός, διαμεῖναι δὲ καὶ
38 μέχρι Φήλικος προεσταμένου τῆς Ἰουδαίας. νῦν
δὲ ἔλεγεν αὐτοὺς ἠτυχηκέναι τῷ νεωτέρῳ δωρεὰν
Ἀγρίππᾳ δοθέντας ὑπὸ Νέρωνος· ἄρξαι γὰρ εὐθὺς
τὴν μὲν Σέπφωριν, ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκουσεν,
τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καταλυθῆναι δὲ παρ᾿ αὐτοῖς τήν τε
39 βασιλικὴν τράπεζαν καὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα. ταῦτα καὶ
πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα πολλὰ κατὰ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα
λέγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν δῆμον εἰς τὴν ἀπόστασιν
ἐρεθίσαι, προσετίθει νῦν εἶναι καιρὸν ἀραμένους
ὅπλα καὶ Γαλιλαίους συμμάχους προσλαβόντας—
ἄρξειν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἑκόντων διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς
Σεπφωρίτας μῖσος ὑπάρχον[2] αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τὴν πρὸς
Ῥωμαίους πίστιν διαφυλάσσουσιν—μεγάλῃ χειρὶ
40 πρὸς τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τιμωρίαν τραπέσθαι. ταῦτα
λέγων προετρέψατο τὸ πλῆθος· ἦν γὰρ ἱκανὸς
δημαγωγεῖν καὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων τὰ βελτίω
περιεῖναι γοητείᾳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ τῇ διὰ λόγων. καὶ
γὰρ οὐδ᾿ ἄπειρος ἦν παιδείας τῆς παρ᾿ Ἕλλησιν,
ᾗ θαρρῶν ἐπεχείρησεν καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν πραγ-
μάτων τούτων ἀναγράφειν ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ
41 περιεσόμενος τῆς ἀληθείας. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτου
τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς φαῦλος τὸν βίον ἐγένετο καὶ ὡς σὺν
τῷ ἀδελφῷ μικροῦ δεῖν καταστροφῆς αἴτιος ὑπῆρξεν,
42 προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου δηλώσομεν. τότε δὲ πείσας
ὁ Ἰοῦστος τοὺς πολίτας ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὅπλα, πολ-

and endeavoured to instil into the people that their city had always been the capital of Galilee, at least under its founder, Herod the tetrarch, whose intention was that the city of Sepphoris should be subordinate to Tiberias; and that even under King Agrippa the elder they had not lost this primacy, which had continued until Felix became procurator of Judaea. Now, however, he continued, they had had the misfortune of being handed over by Nero as a present to Agrippa the younger; Sepphoris, by submission to Rome, had forthwith become the capital of Galilee and the seat of the royal bank and the archives. To these and many other disparaging remarks upon King Agrippa, calculated to incite the people to revolt, he added: "Now is the time to take up arms and join hands with the Galilaeans. Their hatred of Sepphoris for remaining loyal to Rome will make them willing recruits. Now is your opportunity, with ample forces, for revenge." This harangue had its effect on the mob; for he was a clever demagogue and by a charlatan's tricks of oratory more than a match for opponents with saner counsels. Indeed he was not unversed in Greek culture, and presuming on these attainments even undertook to write a history of these events, hoping by his presentation of the facts to disguise the truth. But of this man's general depravity and of the fact that to him and his brother our ruin was almost entirely due, I shall adduce proof in the course of this narrative.[a] On this occasion Justus, having prevailed on the citizens to take up arms and forced

[a] *Cf.* §§ 88, 279, 336-367, 390-3, 410.

[1] ἀποβάλλειν MSS. [2] Dindorf: ὑπάρχειν MSS.

λοὺς δὲ καὶ μὴ θελήσαντας ἀναγκάσας, ἐξελθὼν σὺν πᾶσιν τούτοις ἐμπίμπρησιν τάς τε Γαδαρηνῶν καὶ Ἱππηνῶν κώμας, αἳ δὴ μεθόριοι τῆς Τιβεριάδος καὶ τῆς τῶν Σκυθοπολιτῶν γῆς ἐτύγχανον κείμεναι.

43 (10) Καὶ Τιβεριὰς μὲν ἐν τοιούτοις ἦν, τὰ περὶ Γίσχαλα δὲ εἶχε τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Ληουεί, τῶν πολιτῶν τινας ὁρῶν διὰ τὴν ἀποστασίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων μέγα φρονοῦντας κατέχειν αὐτοὺς ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἠξίου
44 διαφυλάττειν. οὐ μὴν ἠδυνήθη καίτοι πάνυ προθυμούμενος. τὰ γὰρ πέριξ ἔθνη, Γαδαρηνοὶ καὶ Γαβαρηνοί, Σωγαναῖοι[1] καὶ Τύριοι, πολλὴν ἀθροίσαντες δύναμιν καὶ τοῖς Γισχάλοις ἐπεισπεσόντες λαμβάνουσι τὰ Γίσχαλα κατὰ κράτος, καὶ πυρπολήσαντες εἶτα δὲ καὶ προσκατασκάψαντες εἰς τὴν
45 οἰκείαν ἀνέζευξαν. Ἰωάννης δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ παροξυνθεὶς ὁπλίζει πάντας τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖς προειρημένοις ἔθνεσιν κατὰ κράτος ἐνίκησε, τά τε Γίσχαλα κρείττονα πάλιν ἀνακτίσας τείχεσιν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τῆς εἰς ὕστερον ὠχύρωσεν.

46 (11) Γάμαλα δὲ πίστει τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐνέμεινε δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. Φίλιππος ὁ Ἰακείμου παῖς, ἔπαρχος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, σωθεὶς παρὰ δόξαν ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς πολιορκουμένης καὶ διαφυγὼν εἰς ἕτερον ἐνέπεσε κίνδυνον, ὥστε ὑπὸ Μαναήμου καὶ τῶν
47 σὺν αὐτῷ λῃστῶν ἀναιρεθῆναι· διεκώλυσαν δὲ Βαβυλώνιοί τινες συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὄντες πρᾶξαι τοὺς λῃστὰς τὸ ἔργον. ἐπιμείνας οὖν ἡμέρας τέσσαρας ὁ Φίλιππος ἐκεῖ τῇ πέμπτῃ φεύγει περιθετῇ χρησάμενος κόμῃ τοῦ μὴ κατάδηλος γενέσθαι, καὶ παραγενόμενος εἴς τινα

many to do so against their will, marched out with all his followers and set fire to the villages, belonging to Gadara and Hippos, which lay on the frontiers of Tiberias and of the territory of Scythopolis.

(iii.) Gischala.

(10) Such was the position of affairs at Tiberias; at Gischala the situation was as follows. John, son of Levi, observing that some of the citizens were highly elated by the revolt from Rome, tried to restrain them and urged them to maintain their allegiance. His earnest efforts, however, proved unavailing; for the inhabitants of the neighbouring states, Gadara, Gabara, Sogane and Tyre, mustered a large force, stormed and took Gischala, burnt and razed it to the ground, and returned to their homes. Incensed at this outrage, John armed all his followers, made a determined attack on the aforesaid peoples and defeated them. He then rebuilt Gischala on a grander scale than before and fortified it with walls as a security for the future.

(iv.) Gamala and Philip ben Jacimus.

(11) Gamala remained loyal to Rome under the following circumstances. Philip, son of Jacimus, King Agrippa's lieutenant, after miraculously escaping with his life from the royal palace at Jerusalem, when it was besieged, was exposed to the further peril of being slain by Menahem and his brigands.[a] The latter were, however, prevented from accomplishing their purpose by some Babylonian kinsmen of Philip, who were then in Jerusalem. Here he remained for four days and on the fifth escaped, disguised by a wig, and reaching one of the villages under his

[a] *Cf. B.* ii. 556 f.; 433 ff.

[1] Emended. The MSS., in lieu of the two latter names, have Βαραγανέοι or the like.

τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κωμῶν κατὰ τοὺς ὅρους Γάμαλα τοῦ φρουρίου κειμένην πέμπει πρός τινας τῶν ὑπ᾿
48 αὐτοῦ προστάσσων ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι. . .[1] ταῦτα δ᾿ αὐτὸν ἐννοούμενον ἐμποδίζει τὸ θεῖον ἐπὶ συμφέροντι· μὴ γὰρ τούτου γενομένου πάντως ἂν ἀπολώλει. πυρετοῦ δὴ κατασχόντος αὐτὸν ἐξαίφνης γράψας ἐπιστολὰς τοῖς παισὶν Ἀγρίππᾳ καὶ Βερενίκῃ δίδωσιν τῶν ἐξελευθέρων τινὶ κομίζειν
49 πρὸς Οὔαρον. ἦν δ᾿ οὗτος κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν διοικῶν, καταστησάντων αὐτὸν τῶν βασιλέων· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰς Βηρυτὸν ἀφικνοῦντο
50 ὑπαντῆσαι βουλόμενοι Κεστίῳ. λαβὼν οὖν ὁ Οὔαρος τὰ παρὰ Φιλίππου γράμματα καὶ πυθόμενος αὐτὸν διασεσῶσθαι βαρέως ἤνεγκεν, ἀχρεῖος τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτὸς νομίζων φανεῖσθαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀφικομένου τοῦ Φιλίππου. προαγαγὼν οὖν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τὸν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κομίσαντα καὶ πλαστογραφίαν ἐπικαλέσας, ψεύδεσθαί τε φήσας αὐτὸν ἀπαγγείλαντα Φίλιππον ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις μετὰ
51 τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν ἀπέκτεινεν. μὴ ὑποστρέψαντος δὴ τοῦ ἐξελευθέρου Φίλιππος ἀπορῶν τὴν αἰτίαν δεύτερον ἐκπέμπει μετ᾿ ἐπιστολῶν πάλιν τὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντα πρὸς αὐτὸν τί τὸ συμβε-
52 βηκὸς εἴη τῷ ἀποσταλέντι, δι᾿ ὃ βραδύνειεν. καὶ τοῦτον δὲ παραγενόμενον ὁ Οὔαρος συκοφαντήσας ἀνεῖλεν. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ Σύρων ἐπῆρτο μέγα φρονεῖν, ἀναιρεθήσεσθαι μὲν λεγόντων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων τὸν Ἀγρίππαν διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων μαρτυρίας,[2] λήψεσθαι δ᾿ αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ βασιλέων ὄντα· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁμολογουμένως ὁ

[1] The MSS. add τὴν Φιλίππου; probably there is a lacuna in the text.

jurisdiction on the confines of the fortress of Gamala, sent orders to some of those under his command to join him. . . . His designs, however, were, fortunately for himself, frustrated by Providence; else he would undoubtedly have perished. Being seized with a sudden attack of fever, he wrote to the younger [a] Agrippa and Berenice a letter which he delivered to one of his freedmen to convey to Varus [b]; Varus having at the time been appointed administrator of the realm by the king and his royal sister, who had gone to Berytus to wait upon Cestius. The receipt of Philip's communication, acquainting him of his escape, caused Varus great vexation, as he supposed that, now that Philip had arrived, their majesties would have no further use for his own services. He accordingly brought the bearer of the letter before the people and accused him of forging it; he added that he had mendaciously reported that Philip was fighting against the Romans with the Jews in Jerusalem, and then put the man to death. Philip, at a loss to explain the failure of his freedman to return, dispatched a second with further letters and to bring him word what had happened to cause the delay of his first courier. He, too, on his arrival was slain by Varus on some groundless accusation. For Varus had been led to entertain great expectations by the Syrians of Caesarea, who asserted that Agrippa, on the indictment of the Jews, would be put to death by the Romans, and that he, as of royal lineage, would succeed to the throne. As a

Varus, the viceroy of Agrippa.

[a] Lit. "the children," *sc.* of Agrippa I., his former chief.
[b] Called Noarus in *B.* ii. 481 ff.

[2] μαρτυρίας cod. R: the other MSS. have ἁμαρτίας, "for the crimes of the Jews."

Οὔαρος βασιλικοῦ γένους, ἔγγονος Σοέμου τοῦ
53 περὶ τὸν Λίβανον τετραρχοῦντος. διὰ τοῦτ' οὖν ὁ
Οὔαρος τυφούμενος τὰς μὲν ἐπιστολὰς παρ' ἑαυτῷ
κατέσχεν μηχανώμενος μὴ ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς γράμμασι
τὸν βασιλέα, τὰς ἐξόδους δὲ πάσας ἐφρούρει, μὴ
διαδράς τις ἀπαγγείλειε τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ πραττόμενα.
καὶ δὴ χαριζόμενος τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Καισάρειαν
54 Σύροις πολλοὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐβου-
λήθη δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐν Βαταναίᾳ Τραχωνιτῶν
ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις Βαβυ-
λωνίους Ἰουδαίους, ταύτην γὰρ τὴν προσηγορίαν
55 ἔχουσιν, ὁρμῆσαι. καλέσας οὖν τῶν κατὰ τὴν
Καισάρειαν Ἰουδαίων δώδεκα τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους
προσέτασσεν αὐτοῖς ἀφικομένοις εἰς Ἐκβάτανα
πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ κατοικοῦντας αὐτῶν ὁμοφύλους
εἰπεῖν ὅτι Οὔαρος, ἀκούσας ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ βασιλέα
μέλλειν ὁρμᾶν καὶ μὴ πιστεύσας, πέπομφεν ἡμᾶς
πείσοντας ὑμᾶς τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ
αὐτῷ τεκμήριον ἔσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ καλῶς μὴ πισ-
56 τεῦσαι τοῖς περὶ ὑμῶν λέγουσιν. ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ
τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἑβδομήκοντα πέμπειν
ἀπολογησομένους περὶ τῆς ἐπενηνεγμένης αἰτίας.
ἐλθόντες οὖν οἱ δώδεκα πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις
ὁμοφύλους καὶ καταλαβόντες αὐτοὺς μηδὲν ἐπὶ
νεωτερισμῷ φρονοῦντας ἔπεισαν καὶ τοὺς ἑβδομή-
57 κοντα πέμπειν. οἱ δὲ μηδὲν ὑποπτεύσαντες τοιοῦ-
τον οἷον ἔμελλεν ἀποβήσεσθαι ἐξαπέστειλαν. κατα-
βαίνουσιν δ' οὗτοι μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα πρέσβεων εἰς

[a] The highlands east of the Sea of Galilee, viz. Batanaea (Bashan) and the volcanic district of Trachon or Trachonitis (τράχων = "rough ground"; mod. *El Lejā*), were exposed to Arab raiders. To protect the district, which lay on the

descendant of Soemus, who had been a tetrarch in the Lebanon district, Varus's royal extraction was universally admitted. Inflated with these lofty ambitions Varus withheld the letters and contrived to prevent their perusal by the king; guards being posted at all the exits from the town, so that none should escape and report his proceedings to him. Moreover, to ingratiate himself with the Syrians of Caesarea, he put many of the Jews to death.

He had a further scheme of uniting with the people of Trachonitis in Batanaea in an armed attack on the "Babylonian Jews," as they are called, in Ecbatana.[a] He accordingly summoned twelve of the most esteemed of the Caesarean Jews, and instructed them to proceed to Ecbatana and tell their compatriots in that city that a report had reached Varus that they intended to march against the king; he did not credit this report, but had sent this embassy to urge them to lay down their arms; he would regard their compliance as proof that he was right in attaching no weight to the current rumours. He further ordered them to send seventy of their leading men to answer the charge which had been laid against them. The twelve, finding on their arrival at Ecbatana that their compatriots were innocent of any revolutionary designs, urged them to dispatch the seventy; they, with no suspicion of the fate in store for them, sent them off and the deputies travelled down with the twelve envoys to Caesarea.

His massacre of Babylonian Jews.

direct route from Babylon to Jerusalem, Herod the Great settled in Batanaea a colony of Babylonian Jews under Zamaris, grandfather of the Philip named in the text; *A.* xvii 23 ff. Ecbatana is not the city in Media, but one of the forts built in this region. A different version of the above narrative is given in *B.* ii. 481 ff.

τὴν Καισάρειαν. ὑπαντήσας οὖν ὁ Οὔαρος μετὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως σὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἐκβα-
58 τάνοις Ἰουδαίους ἐποιεῖτο. φθάσας δέ τις ἐκ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα σωθεὶς ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς, κἀκεῖνοι τὰ ὅπλα λαβόντες σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον ὑπεχώρησαν, καταλιπόντες τὰς κώμας πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν πλήρεις καὶ βοσκη-
59 μάτων πολλὰς μυριάδας ἐχούσας. Φίλιππος δὲ πυθόμενος ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον ἧκεν. παραγενομένου δὲ κατεβόα τὸ πλῆθος, ἄρχειν αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦντες καὶ πολεμεῖν πρὸς Οὔαρον καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Καισαρείᾳ Σύρους· διεδέδοτο[1] γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτων τὸν βασιλέα τεθνάναι.
60 Φίλιππος δ' αὐτῶν κατεῖχε τὰς ὁρμάς, ὑπομιμνήσκων τῶν τε τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσιῶν, καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων διηγούμενος ὅση τίς ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις, συμφέρειν οὐκ ἔλεγεν ἄρασθαι πρὸς τούτους
61 πόλεμον, καὶ τέλος ἔπεισεν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πυθόμενος ὅτι Οὔαρος μέλλει τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας Ἰουδαίους σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις πολλὰς ὄντας μυριάδας ἀναιρεῖν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ, μεταπέμπεται [πρὸς][2] αὐτόν, Αἴκουον Μόδιον[3] πέμψας αὐτῷ διάδοχον, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις ἐδηλώσαμεν. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον κατέσχεν καὶ τὴν πέριξ χώραν πίστει τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐμμένουσαν.

62 (12) Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀφικόμην ἐγὼ καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἀπαγγειλάντων ἔμαθον, γράφω

[1] διεδέδοτο Bekker: διαδέδοκτο and διεδέχετο MSS.
[2] πρὸς is omitted by Bekker.
[3] *v.l.* Μονόδιον.

They were met by the royal troops under Varus, who put them all to death, including the envoys, and proceeded on the march against the Jews of Ecbatana. One of the seventy, however, escaped, and got ahead of him and brought the news to his countrymen; whereupon, seizing their arms, they withdrew with their wives and children to the fortress of Gamala, leaving their villages full of abundant stores and stocked with many thousand head of cattle.

On hearing of this Philip also entered the fortress of Gamala, the people of which on his arrival vociferously called on him to assume the command and make war on Varus and the Syrians of Caesarea, who, according to a rumour which was afloat, had assassinated the king. Philip sought to restrain their impetuosity; reminded them of the benefits which the king had conferred upon them; dilated on the formidable power of the Romans and the inexpediency of entering upon war with such an enemy; and in the end succeeded. The king, meanwhile, hearing that Varus intended to massacre in one day the Jewish population in Caesarea, numbering many thousands, including women and children, recalled him and sent Aequus Modius to take over the command, as I have elsewhere related.[a] The fortress of Gamala and the surrounding district were retained by Philip and thus preserved their allegiance to Rome.

His supersession.

(12) When, on my arrival in Galilee, I was informed of the above position of affairs, I wrote to the San-

[a] *Cf. B.* ii. 483, where Varus's deposition is mentioned, but not the name of his successor. For the sequel see § 179 ff. below.

τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν περὶ τούτων καὶ τί με πράττειν κελεύουσιν ἐρωτῶ. οἱ δὲ προσμεῖναι παρεκάλεσαν καὶ τοὺς συμπρέσβεις, εἰ θέλοιεν, κατασχόντα πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι τῆς Γαλιλαίας.
63 οἱ δὲ συμπρέσβεις εὐπορήσαντες πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν διδομένων αὐτοῖς δεκατῶν, ἃς ὄντες ἱερεῖς ὀφειλομένας ἀπελάμβανον, εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑποστρέφειν γῆν ἔκριναν· ἐμοῦ δ' αὐτοὺς προσμεῖναι παρακαλέσαντος ἕως οὗ τὰ πράγματα καταστή-
64 σωμεν, πείθονται. ἄρας οὖν μετ' αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Σεπφωριτῶν πόλεως εἰς κώμην τινὰ Βηθμαοὺς λεγομένην, ἀπέχουσαν Τιβεριάδος στάδια τέσσαρα, παραγίνομαι, καὶ πέμψας ἐντεῦθεν [τοὺς] πρὸς τὴν Τιβεριέων βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ δήμου
65 παρεκάλουν ἀφικέσθαι πρός με. καὶ παραγενομένων, ἐληλύθει δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰοῦστος, ἔλεγον ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρεσβεῦσαι μετὰ τούτων πεπόμφθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, πείσων καθαιρεθῆναι τὸν οἶκον τὸν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου κατασκευασθέντα, ζῴων μορφὰς ἔχοντα, τῶν νόμων οὕτως τι κατασκευάζειν ἀπαγορευόντων, καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτοὺς ἐᾶν ἡμᾶς ᾗ τάχος τοῦτο
66 πράττειν. ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν οὖν οἱ περὶ τὸν Καπέλλαν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέπειν οὐκ ἤθελον, βιαζόμενοι δ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν συγκατατίθενται. φθάνει δ' Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Σαπφία παῖς, ὃν τῆς τῶν ναυτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων στάσεως πρῶτον ἔφαμεν ἄρξαι, παραλαβών τινας Γαλιλαίους καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν αὐλὴν ἐμπρήσας, πολλῶν οἰόμενος εὐπορήσειν ἐξ αὐτῆς χρημάτων, ἐπειδή τινας οἴκων ὀροφὰς κεχρυσω-
67 μένας εἶδεν. καὶ διήρπασαν πολλὰ παρὰ γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέραν πράξαντες· ἡμεῖς γὰρ μετὰ τὴν πρὸς

hedrin at Jerusalem and asked for instructions how I should proceed. They advised me to remain at my post and take precautions for Galilee, retaining my colleagues, if willing to stay. My colleagues, having amassed a large sum of money from the tithes which they accepted as their priestly due, decided to return home; but, on my request, consented to stay until we had brought matters into order. I accordingly set out with them from headquarters at Sepphoris and came to a village called Bethmaus, four furlongs distant from Tiberias, and from there sent to the council and principal men of that city, requesting them to come to me. On their arrival, Justus being among them, I told them that I and my associates had been commissioned by the Jerusalem assembly to press for the demolition of the palace erected by Herod the tetrarch, which contained representations of animals—such a style of architecture being forbidden by the laws [a]—and I requested their permission to proceed at once with the work. Capella [b] and the other leaders for a long while refused this, but were finally overruled by us and assented. We were, however, anticipated in our task by Jesus, son of Sapphias, the ringleader, as already stated,[c] of the party of the sailors and destitute class. Joined by some Galilaeans he set the whole palace on fire, expecting, after seeing that the roof was partly of gold, to obtain from it large spoils. There was much looting, contrary to our intention; for we, after our conference with Capella

Conference of Josephus with the leading men of Tiberias and ensuing disorders.

[a] Exod. xx. 4.
[b] Or Capellus, as in § 32 above.
[c] Not previously mentioned; the reference is apparently to the mention of "the second faction of insignificant persons" in § 34 above.

Καπέλλαν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους Τιβεριέων ὁμιλίαν εἰς
τὴν ἄνω Γαλιλαίαν ἀπὸ Βηθμαῶν ἀνεχωρήσαμεν.
ἀναιροῦσιν δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πάντας τοὺς
ἐνοικοῦντας Ἕλληνας ὅσοι τε πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου
γεγόνεισαν αὐτῶν ἐχθροί.
68 (13) Πυθόμενος δ' ἐγὼ ταῦτα παρωξύνθην
σφόδρα, καὶ καταβὰς εἰς Τιβεριάδα πρόνοιαν εἰσ-
ηνεγκάμην τῶν βασιλικῶν σκευῶν ὅσα δυνατὸν
ἦν τοὺς ἁρπάσαντας ἀφελέσθαι· λυχνίαι δ' ἦσαν
Κορίνθιαι ταῦτα καὶ τράπεζαι τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ
ἀσήμου ἀργυρίου σταθμὸς ἱκανός. πάντα δ' ὅσα
69 παρέλαβον, φυλάσσειν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἔκρινα. μετα-
πεμψάμενος οὖν τοὺς τῆς βουλῆς πρώτους δέκα καὶ
Καπέλλαν τὸν Ἀντύλλου τὰ σκεύη παρέδωκα,
μηδενὶ παραγγείλας ἑτέρῳ πλὴν ἐμοῦ δοῦναι.
70 Κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὰ Γίσχαλα πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην
μετὰ τῶν συμπρέσβεων ἀφικόμην βουλόμενος
γνῶναι τί ποτε φρονεῖ. κατεῖδον δ' αὐτὸν ταχέως
νεωτέρων ὀρεγόμενον πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς
71 ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχοντα. παρεκάλει γάρ με τὸν Καίσαρος
σῖτον κείμενον ἐν ταῖς τῆς ἄνωθεν Γαλιλαίας κώμαις
ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ δοῦναι ἐκφορῆσαι· θέλειν γὰρ
ἔφασκεν εἰς ἐπισκευὴν τῶν τῆς πατρίδος τειχῶν
72 αὐτὸν ἀναλῶσαι. κατανοήσας δὲ ἐγὼ τὴν ἐπιχεί-
ρησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τί διανοοῖτο πράσσειν, οὐκ ἔφην
αὐτῷ συγχωρεῖν· ἢ γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν ἐνενοούμην
φυλάττειν ἢ ἐμαυτῷ, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν
ἐκεῖ πραγμάτων αὐτὸς παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν
73 Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πεπιστεῦσθαι. μὴ πείθων δέ με
περὶ τούτων ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπρέσβεις ἐτράπετο· καὶ
γὰρ ἦσαν ἀπρονόητοι τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ λαβεῖν
ἑτοιμότατοι. φθείρει δὲ χρήμασιν αὐτοὺς ψηφί-

and the leading men of Tiberias, had left Bethmaus for Upper Galilee. Jesus and his followers then massacred all the Greek residents in Tiberias and any others who, before the outbreak of hostilities, had been their enemies.

(13) On hearing of these proceedings I was extremely indignant and went down to Tiberias and devoted my energies to recovering from the plunderers as much as I could of the palace furniture, namely, some candelabra of Corinthian make, royal tables, and a large mass of uncoined silver. I decided to keep all that I obtained in trust for the king, and accordingly sent for ten of the principal councillors, with Capella, son of Antyllus, and committed the property to their charge, with injunctions to deliver it to none but myself.

Stratagems of John of Gischala.

From Tiberias I went with my colleagues to Gischala to meet John, whose attitude I desired to ascertain. I soon discovered that he was eager for revolution and ambitious of obtaining command. For he requested me to authorize him to lay hands on the imperial corn stored in the villages of Upper Galilee, professing a desire to expend the proceeds on the repair of the walls of his native town. Detecting his ultimate design and present intentions, I declined his request; as the authority entrusted to me by the Jerusalem authorities extended to that district, I intended to reserve the corn either for the Romans or for my own use. Unsuccessful with me he turned to my colleagues, who were blind to coming events and quite open to receive money. These he

σασθαι πάντα τὸν σῖτον αὐτῷ παραδοθῆναι τὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐπαρχίᾳ κείμενον. κἀγὼ μόνος ἡττώ-
74 μενος ὑπὸ δύο[1] τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον. καὶ δευτέραν Ἰωάννης ἐπεισέφερεν πανουργίαν· ἔφη γὰρ Ἰουδαίους τοὺς τὴν Φιλίππου Καισάρειαν κατοικοῦντας, συγκεκλεισμένους κατὰ προσταγὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὸ Μοδίου[2] τοῦ τὴν δυναστείαν διοικοῦντος, πεπομφέναι πρὸς αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦντας, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἔλαιον ᾧ χρίσονται[3] καθαρόν, ποιησάμενον πρόνοιαν εὐπορίαν αὐτοῖς τούτου παρασχεῖν, μὴ δι' ἀνάγκην Ἑλληνικῷ χρώμενοι τὰ νόμιμα παρα-
75 βαίνωσιν. ταῦτα δ' οὐχ ὑπ' εὐσεβείας ἔλεγεν Ἰωάννης, δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν δὲ φανερωτάτην. γινώσκων γὰρ παρὰ μὲν ἐκείνοις κατὰ τὴν Καισάρειαν τοὺς δύο ξέστας δραχμῆς μιᾶς πωλουμένους, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Γισχάλοις τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα ξέστας δραχμῶν τεσσάρων, πᾶν τὸ ἔλαιον ὅσον ἦν ἐκεῖ διεπέμψατο, λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τὸ
76 δοκεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἑκὼν ἐπέτρεπον, ἀλλὰ διὰ φόβον τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, μὴ κωλύων καταλευσθείην ὑπ' αὐτῶν. συγχωρήσαντος οὖν μου πλείστων χρημάτων ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐκ τῆς κακουργίας ταύτης εὐπόρησε.

77 (14) Τοὺς δὲ συμπρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῶν Γισχάλων ἀπολύσας εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πρόνοιαν ἐποιούμην ὅπλων τε κατασκευῆς καὶ πόλεων ἐχυρότητος. μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τῶν λῃστῶν τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους ἀφελέσθαι μὲν αὐτῶν τὰ ὅπλα οὐχ οἷόν τε ὂν ἑώρων, ἔπεισα δὲ τὸ πλῆθος μισθοφορὰν αὐτοῖς παρέχειν, ἄμεινον εἶναι λέγων ἑκόντας ὀλίγα διδόναι

[1] So, doubtless correctly, the *editio princeps*: the MSS. have ὑποδὺς, "slipped away and."

bribed to vote that all the corn stored in his province should be delivered to him. Unsupported and outvoted by the other two, I held my peace.

This knavish trick John followed up with a second.[a] He stated that the Jewish inhabitants of Caesarea Philippi, having, by the king's order, been shut up by Modius, his viceroy, and having no pure oil for their personal use, had sent a request to him to see that they were supplied with this commodity, lest they should be driven to violate their legal ordinances by resort to Grecian oil.[b] John's motive in making this assertion was not piety, but profiteering of the most barefaced description; for he knew that at Caesarea two pints[c] were sold for one drachm, whereas at Gischala eighty pints could be had for four drachms. So he sent off all the oil in the place, having ostensibly obtained my authority to do so. My permission I gave reluctantly, from fear of being stoned by the mob if I withheld it. Thus, having gained my consent, John by this sharp practice made an enormous profit.

Josephus dismisses his colleagues. His measures to tranquillize Galilee.

(14) At Gischala I let my colleagues return to Jerusalem and proceeded to take measures for the provision of arms and the strengthening of the fortifications of the towns. I also summoned the most stalwart of the brigands and, seeing that it would be impossible to disarm them, persuaded the people to pay them as mercenaries; remarking that it was better to give them a small sum voluntarily

[a] With §§ 74 f. *cf. B.* ii. 591 f. (details rather different).
[b] Foreign oil was forbidden, according to one Talmudic authority, as likely to be tainted by unclean vessels. *Cf. A.* xii. 120.
[c] *Sextarii.*

[2] ὑπὸ Μοδίου Holwerda: ὑποδίκου MSS. *Cf.* § 61 with 49.
[3] *v.l.* χρήσονται.

μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς κτήσεις διαρπαζομένας ὑπ' αὐτῶν
78 περιορᾶν. καὶ λαβὼν παρ' αὐτῶν ὅρκους μὴ
ἀφίξεσθαι πρότερον εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἐὰν μὴ μετα-
κληθῶσιν ἢ ὅταν τὸν μισθὸν μὴ λάβωσιν, ἀπέλυσα
παραγγείλας μήτε Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν μήτε τοῖς
περιοίκοις· εἰρηνεύεσθαι γὰρ πρὸ πάντων τὴν
79 Γαλιλαίαν ἐφρόντιζον. τοὺς δ' ἐν τέλει τῶν Γαλι-
λαίων, ὅσον ἑβδομήκοντα πάντας, βουλόμενος ἐν
προφάσει φιλίας καθάπερ ὅμηρα τῆς πίστεως ἔχειν,
φίλους τε καὶ συνεκδήμους ἐποιησάμην, ἐπί τε
κρίσεις παρελάμβανον καὶ μετὰ γνώμης τῆς ἐκείνων
τὰς ἀποφάσεις ἐποιούμην, μήτε προπετείᾳ πειρώ-
μενος τοῦ δικαίου διαμαρτάνειν καθαρεύειν τε[1]
παντὸς ἐπ'[2] αὐταῖς λήμματος.
80 (15) Περὶ τριακοστὸν γοῦν ἔτος ὑπάρχων, ἐν ᾧ
χρόνῳ, κἂν ἀπέχηταί τις τῶν παρανόμων ἐπι-
θυμιῶν, δύσκολον τὰς ἐκ τοῦ φθόνου διαβολὰς
φεύγειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ⟨ἐπ'⟩[3] ἐξουσίας ὄντα μεγάλης,
γυναῖκα μὲν πᾶσαν ἀνύβριστον ἐφύλαξα, πάντων
δὲ τῶν διδομένων ὡς μὴ χρῄζων κατεφρόνησα·
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς ὀφειλομένας μοι ὡς ἱερεῖ δεκάτας
81 ἀπελάμβανον παρὰ τῶν κομιζόντων. ἐκ μέντοι
τῶν λαφύρων μέρος[4] τοὺς Σύρους τοὺς τὰς πέριξ
πόλεις κατοικοῦντας νικήσας ἔλαβον, ἃ καὶ εἰς
Ἱεροσόλυμα τοῖς συγγενέσιν ὁμολογῶ πεπομφέναι.
82 καὶ δὶς μὲν κατὰ κράτος ἑλὼν Σεπφωρίτας, Τιβε-
ριεῖς τετράκις, Γαβαρεῖς[5] δ' ἅπαξ, καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην
πολλάκις ἐπιβουλεύσαντά μοι λαβὼν ὑποχείριον,
οὔτ' αὐτὸν οὔτε τινὰς τῶν προειρημένων ἐθνῶν
ἐτιμωρησάμην, ὡς προϊὼν ὁ λόγος παραστήσει.

[1] τε Bekker: δὲ MSS. [2] v.l. ἐν.
[3] ins. Bekker. [4] μέρους MSS.

than to submit to raids upon their property. I then bound them by oath not to enter the district unless they were sent for or their pay was in arrear, and dismissed them with injunctions to refrain from attacking either the Romans or their neighbours; for my chief concern was the preservation of peace in Galilee. Wishing, moreover, under the guise of friendliness, to retain the Galilaean authorities, some seventy in all, as hostages for the loyalty of the district, I made them my friends and companions in travel, took them as assessors to cases which I tried, and obtained their approbation of the sentences which I pronounced; endeavouring not to fail in justice through precipitate action and in these matters to keep clear of all bribery.

A council of seventy.

(15) I was now about thirty years old, at a time of life when, even if one restrains his lawless passions, it is hard, especially in a position of high authority, to escape the calumnies of envy. Yet I preserved every woman's honour; I scorned all presents offered to me as having no use for them; I even declined to accept from those who brought them the tithes which were due to me as a priest. On the other hand, I did take a portion of the spoils after defeating the Syrian inhabitants of the surrounding cities, and admit to having sent these to my kinsfolk in Jerusalem. And though I took Sepphoris twice by storm, Tiberias four times, and Gabara once; and though I had John many times at my mercy when he plotted against me, I punished neither him nor any of the communities I have named, as the course of this narrative will show. To this cause I

Protestation of integrity.

[5] Γαβαρεῖς Niese (after cod. P, Γαραβεῖς): the other MSS. have Γαδαρεῖς.

83 διὰ τοῦτ᾽ οἶμαι καὶ τὸν θεόν, οὐ γὰρ λελήθασιν
αὐτὸν οἱ τὰ δέοντα πράττοντες, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνων
ῥύσασθαί με χειρὸς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πολλοῖς
περιπεσόντα κινδύνοις διαφυλάξαι, περὶ ὧν ὕστερον
ἀπαγγελοῦμεν.
84 (16) Τοσαύτη δ᾽ ἦν ἡ πρός με τοῦ πλήθους τῶν
Γαλιλαίων εὔνοια καὶ πίστις, ὥστε ληφθεισῶν
αὐτῶν κατὰ κράτος τῶν πόλεων, γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ
τέκνων ἀνδραποδισθέντων, οὐχ οὕτως ταῖς ἑαυτῶν
ἐπεστέναξαν συμφοραῖς ὥσπερ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐφρόντισαν
85 σωτηρίας. ταῦτα δ᾽ ὁρῶν Ἰωάννης ἐφθόνησε, καὶ
γράφει πρός με παρακαλῶν ἐπιτρέψαι καταβάντι
χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἐν Τιβεριάδι θερμοῖς ὕδασι τῆς τοῦ
86 σώματος ἕνεκα θεραπείας. κἀγὼ μηδὲν ὑποπτεύ-
σας πράξειν αὐτὸν πονηρὸν οὐκ ἐκώλυσα· πρὸς
δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῆς Τιβεριάδος τὴν διοίκησιν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ
πεπιστευμένοις κατ᾽ ὄνομα γράφω κατάλυσιν ἑτοι-
μάσαι τῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ τοῖς ἀφιξομένοις σὺν αὐτῷ,
πάντων τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονίαν παρασχεῖν.
διέτριβον δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐν κώμῃ τῆς
Γαλιλαίας ἣ προσαγορεύεται Κανά.
87 (17) Ὁ δ᾽ Ἰωάννης ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Τιβεριέων
πόλιν ἔπειθε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀποστάντας τῆς πρός
με πίστεως προστίθεσθαι αὐτῷ. καὶ πολλοὶ τὴν
παράκλησιν ἡδέως ἐδέξαντο, νεωτέρων ἐπιθυ-
μοῦντες αἰεὶ πραγμάτων καὶ φύσει πρὸς μεταβολὰς
88 ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντες καὶ στάσεσι χαίροντες· μάλιστα
δὲ Ἰοῦστος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Πίστος ὡρμήκεσαν
ἀποστάντες ἐμοῦ προσθέσθαι τῷ Ἰωάννῃ. διεκώ-
89 λυσα δ᾽ αὐτοὺς φθάσας. ἧκεν γὰρ ἄγγελός μοι
παρὰ Σίλα, ὃν ἐγὼ καθεστάκειν τῆς Τιβεριάδος
στρατηγόν, ὡς προεῖπον, τὴν τῶν Τιβεριέων

attribute my deliverance out of their hands by God—for His eye is upon those who do their duty—and my subsequent preservation amid the numerous perils, to be related in the sequel, which I encountered.

Popularity of Josephus excites John's envy.

(16) The affection and loyalty towards me of the people of Galilee were such that, when their cities were taken by storm and their wives and children enslaved, their lamentations over their own calamities were not so deep as their concern for my safety. Observing this, John's envy was aroused and he wrote to me for permission to come down and take the hot baths at Tiberias for the good of his health.[a] Having no suspicion of any malign intention, I not only did not prevent him, but went so far as to write separate letters to those whom I had entrusted with the administration of Tiberias, to prepare a lodging for him and any who might accompany him, and to make every provision for them. My quarters at the time were at a village of Galilee called Cana.

John promotes sedition at Tiberias.

(17) On his arrival at Tiberias, John attempted to induce the inhabitants to abandon their allegiance to me and attach themselves to him; and there were many who, ever craving for revolution, by temperament addicted to change and delighting in sedition, gladly responded to his invitation. In particular Justus and his father Pistus were eager to desert me and go over to John. My speedy action, however, thwarted their plans. For a messenger reached me from Silas, whom, as I have already mentioned,[b] I had appointed governor of Tiberias, bringing word

[a] With this and the sequel *cf.* *B.* ii. 614 ff.
[b] Not in this work; but see *B.* ii. 616.

γνώμην ἀπαγγέλλων κἀμὲ σπεύδειν παρακαλῶν·
βραδύναντος γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν ἑτέρων ἐξουσίαν γενή-
90 σεσθαι[1] τὴν πόλιν. ἐντυχὼν οὖν τοῖς γράμμασι
τοῦ Σίλα καὶ διακοσίους ἀναλαβὼν ἄνδρας δι' ὅλης
τῆς νυκτὸς τὴν πορείαν ἐποιούμην, προπέμψας
ἄγγελον τὸν τὴν ἐμὴν παρουσίαν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Τιβε-
91 ριάδι σημανοῦντα. πρωῒ δὲ πλησιάζοντος ἐμοῦ τῇ
πόλει τὸ πλῆθος ὑπηντίαζεν καὶ Ἰωάννης σὺν
αὐτοῖς· ὃς καὶ πάνυ με τεταραγμένως ἀσπασά-
μενος, δείσας μὴ εἰς ἔλεγχον αὐτοῦ τῆς πράξεως
ἀφικομένης ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσῃ, ὑπεχώρησε. μετὰ
92 σπουδῆς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατάλυσιν. κἀγὼ δὲ γενό-
μενος κατὰ τὸ στάδιον, τοὺς περὶ ἐμὲ σωματο-
φύλακας ἀπολύσας πλὴν ἑνός, καὶ μετὰ τούτου
κατασχὼν δέκα τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, δημηγορεῖν ἐπει-
ρώμην τῷ πλήθει τῶν Τιβεριέων στὰς ἐπὶ τριγχοῦ
τινος ὑψηλοῦ, παρεκάλουν τε μὴ οὕτως αὐτοὺς
93 ταχέως ἀφίστασθαι· κατάγνωσιν γὰρ αὐτοῖς οἴσειν
τὴν μεταβολήν, καὶ τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα προϊσταμένῳ
δι' ὑποψίας γενήσεσθαι δικαίας, ὡς μηδὲ τὴν πρὸς
ἐκεῖνον πίστιν φυλαξόντων.
94 (18) Οὔπω δέ μοι πάντα λελάλητο, καί τινος
ἐξήκουσα τῶν οἰκείων καταβαίνειν κελεύοντος· οὐ
γάρ μοι καιρὸν εἶναι φροντίζειν τῆς παρὰ Τιβεριέων
εὐνοίας, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας καὶ πῶς
95 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐκφύγω. πεπόμφει δ' ὁ Ἰωάννης
τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὁπλιτῶν ἐπιλέξας τοὺς πιστοτάτους
ἐκ τῶν χιλίων οἵπερ ἦσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ προσέταξεν
τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ἀνελεῖν με πεπυσμένος ὡς εἴην
96 μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων μεμονωμένος. ἧκον δ' οἱ πεμ-
φθέντες, κἂν ἐπεπράχεισαν τοὔργον, εἰ μὴ τοῦ
τριγχοῦ θᾶττον ἀφαλόμενος ἐγὼ μετὰ τοῦ σωματο-

of the intention of the citizens and exhorting me to make haste, since, if I delayed, the town would pass into the hands of others. Having read Silas's dispatch I mustered two hundred men and marched all night long, sending a courier in advance to inform the people of Tiberias that I was coming. As I approached the city at dawn I was met by the population, including John, who saluted me in evident confusion and, fearing that the exposure of his proceedings would endanger his life, hastily retired to his lodging.[a] On reaching the stadium I dismissed my bodyguard, except one man whom I retained along with ten soldiers. Then standing on a high parapet[b] I endeavoured to address the crowd of citizens. I urged them not to be so hasty in revolting; such fickleness would be a blot on their character, and they would justly be suspected by a future governor, as likely to prove equally disloyal to him.

Josephus, recalled to Tiberias,

(18) I had not completed my speech when I heard one of my men bidding me come down, as it was no time for me to be thinking of the loyalty of the Tiberians, but of my own life and how to elude my foes. John, on hearing that I was left isolated with my personal attendants, had selected the most trustworthy of the thousand armed men at his disposal and sent them with orders to kill me. They duly arrived and would have done their business, had I not instantly leapt from the parapet, with

flees for his life to Tarichaeae.

[a] In *B.* John feigns sickness and sends a representative to meet Josephus.

[b] *B.* "on a hill six cubits high."

[1] Niese: γενέσθαι MSS.

φύλακος Ἰακώβου καὶ ὑπό τινος Τιβεριέως Ἡρώδου προσανακουφισθείς, ὁδηγηθεὶς ὑπὸ τούτου ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην καὶ πλοίου λαβόμενος καὶ ἐπιβάς, παρὰ δόξαν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς διαφυγὼν εἰς Ταριχέας ἀφικόμην.

97 (19) Οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην κατοικοῦντες ὡς ἐπύθοντο τὴν τῶν Τιβεριέων ἀπιστίαν σφόδρα παρωξύνθησαν. ἁρπάσαντες οὖν τὰ ὅπλα παρεκάλουν σφᾶς ἄγειν ἐπ' αὐτούς· θέλειν γὰρ ἔφασκον ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δίκας λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν.
98 διήγγελλον δὲ τὰ γεγονότα καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν πᾶσιν,[1] ἐρεθίσαι καὶ τούτους κατὰ τῶν Τιβεριέων διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχοντες, παρεκάλουν τε πλείστους συναχθέντας ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, ἵνα μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πράττωσιν τὸ δόξαν.
99 ἧκον οὖν οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι πολλοὶ πανταχόθεν μεθ' ὅπλων καὶ παρεκελεύοντό μοι προσβαλεῖν τῇ Τιβεριάδι καὶ κατὰ κράτος αὐτὴν ἐξελεῖν καὶ πᾶσαν ἔδαφος ποιήσαντα τοὺς ἐνοίκους σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀνδραποδίσασθαι. συνεβούλευον δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν φίλων οἱ ἐκ τῆς Τιβεριάδος διασωθέντες.
100 ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ συνεπένευον δεινὸν ἡγούμενος ἐμφυλίου πολέμου κατάρχειν· μέχρι λόγων γὰρ ᾤμην εἶναι δεῖν τὴν φιλονεικίαν. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἔφασκον συμφέρειν τοῦτο πρᾶξαι, Ῥωμαίων ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσεσιν αὐτοὺς ἀπολεῖσθαι[2] προσδοκώντων. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων ἔπαυσα τῆς ὀργῆς τοὺς Γαλιλαίους.

101 (20) Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἀπράκτου τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης ἔδεισε περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁπλίτας ἀναλαβὼν ἀπῆρεν ἐκ τῆς Τιβεριάδος

[1] v.l. πᾶσαν.

James my bodyguard, and been further aided by one Herod of Tiberias, who picked me up and conducted me to the lake, where I seized a boat, embarked, and, escaping thus beyond all expectation from my enemies, reached Tarichaeae.

(19) The inhabitants of this city, on hearing of the treachery of the Tiberians, were highly indignant, and, seizing their arms, besought me to lead an attack upon them, professing their desire to avenge their general. They also spread the news throughout Galilee, doing their utmost to arouse indignation against the Tiberians, and exhorting the inhabitants to muster in full strength and join them, in order that, with the concurrence of the general, they might act as should seem best.[a] The Galilaeans accordingly came in large numbers from all quarters under arms, and entreated me to attack Tiberias, to take it by storm, raze the whole place to the ground and reduce the inhabitants, women, children and all, to slavery. Their advice was shared by those of my friends who had escaped from Tiberias. I, however, could not assent to their proposal: I was horrified at the thought of opening a civil war, and considered that the quarrel should not go further than verbal remonstrances. Moreover, I told them that the action suggested would not be to their own advantage; since the Romans were only waiting for the rival factions to bring about their own ruin. With these words I appeased the anger of the Galilaeans. Galilaeans rally round Josephus.

(20) John, when his plot failed, in terror of his life moved off with his armed men from Tiberias to John's defence.

[a] Or, perhaps, "accomplish their determined purpose."

[2] Niese: most MSS. ἀπολέσθαι, R (perhaps rightly) ἀπολέσαι.

εἰς τὰ Γίσχαλα, καὶ γράφει πρός με περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολογούμενος ὡς μὴ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν αὐτοῦ γενομένων, παρεκάλει τε μηδὲν ὑπονοεῖν κατ' αὐτοῦ, προστιθεὶς ὅρκους καὶ δεινάς τινας ἀράς, δι' ὧν ᾤετο πιστευθήσεσθαι περὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλεν.

102 (21) Οἱ δὲ Γαλιλαῖοι, πολλοὶ γὰρ ἕτεροι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας πάσης ἀνήχθησαν μεθ' ὅπλων, εἰδότες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς πονηρός ἐστιν καὶ ἐπίορκος, παρεκάλουν ἀγαγεῖν σφᾶς ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἄρδην ἀφανίσειν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ Γίσχαλα.
103 χάριν μὲν οὖν ἔχειν αὐτῶν ταῖς προθυμίαις ὡμολόγουν ἐγὼ καὶ νικήσειν αὐτῶν τὴν εὔνοιαν ἐπηγγελλόμην, παρεκάλουν δ' ὅμως ἐπισχεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶν καὶ συγγινώσκειν μοι δεόμενος προῃρημένῳ τὰς ταραχὰς χωρὶς φόνων καταστέλλειν. καὶ πείσας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Γαλιλαίων εἰς τὴν Σέπφωριν ἀφικνούμην.

104 (22) Οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην κατοικοῦντες ἄνδρες κεκρικότες τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐμμεῖναι πίστει, δεδιότες δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν ἄφιξιν, ἐπειράθησαν ἑτέρᾳ με πράξει περισπάσαντες ἀδεεῖς εἶναι περὶ αὐτῶν.
105 καὶ δὴ πέμψαντες πρὸς Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀρχιλῃστὴν εἰς τὴν Πτολεμαΐδος μεθορίαν ὑπέσχοντο δώσειν πολλὰ χρήματα θελήσαντι μετὰ τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ δυνάμεως, ἦσαν δ' ὀκτακόσιοι τὸν ἀριθμόν, πόλεμον ἐξάψαι
106 πρὸς[1] ἡμᾶς. ὁ δ' ὑπακούσας αὐτῶν ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ἠθέλησεν ἐπιπεσεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνετοίμοις καὶ μηδὲν προγινώσκουσιν. πέμψας γοῦν πρός με παρεκάλει λαβεῖν ἐξουσίαν ἀσπασόμενον ἀφικέσθαι. συγχωρήσαντος δέ μου, τῆς γὰρ ἐπιβουλῆς οὐδὲν

[1] εἰς PRA.

Gischala. Thence he wrote to me, defending himself on the ground that all that had taken place had been done without his sanction, and entreating me not to entertain any suspicions of him. He ended with oaths and horrible imprecations, by which he thought to gain credit for the statements in his letter.

(21) The Galilaeans, many more of whom had again come up in arms from the whole district, knowing the man to be a perjured villain, pressed me to lead them against him, undertaking to exterminate both him and Gischala. I expressed my gratitude for their zeal on my behalf and promised to outrival their goodwill; but, none the less, I begged and entreated them to desist,[a] and craved their indulgence for my determination to quell these disturbances without bloodshed. My persuasion having proved successful with the Galilaeans, I departed to Sepphoris.

An intercepted plot at Sepphoris.

(22) The inhabitants of this city, having decided to remain loyal to Rome,[b] were alarmed at my arrival and sought to secure themselves by diverting my attention elsewhere. They accordingly sent to Jesus, the brigand chief, on the borderland of Ptolemais, and promised him a large sum if he would, with his force, which numbered eight hundred, bring me[c] under the fire of war. Responding to these offers, he was anxious to fall upon me[c] while I was unprepared and knew nothing of his plans. So he sent and requested my permission to come and pay me his respects. Completely ignorant of his designs I gave

[a] Or "restrain themselves."
[b] *Cf.* § 30 above.
[c] "Us"; the first pers. sing. and plural are constantly interchanged in Josephus.

προηπιστάμην, ἀναλαβὼν τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν λῃστῶν
107 ἔσπευδεν ἐπ' ἐμέ. οὐ μὴν ἔφθασεν αὐτοῦ τέλος
λαβεῖν ἡ κακουργία· πλησιάζοντος γὰρ ἤδη τῶν
σὺν αὐτῷ τις αὐτομολήσας ἧκεν πρός με τὴν
ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτοῦ φράζων, κἀγὼ [ὡς] πυθόμενος
ταῦτα προῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν σκηψάμενος ἀγνοεῖν
τὴν ἐπιβουλήν· ἐπηγόμην δὲ πολλοὺς ὁπλίτας
108 Γαλιλαίους, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Τιβεριέων. εἶτα προσ-
τάξας τὰς ὁδοὺς πάσας ἀσφαλέστατα φρουρεῖσθαι
παρήγγειλα τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν μόνον Ἰησοῦν,
ἐπειδὰν παραγένηται, μετὰ τῶν πρώτων εἰσελθεῖν
ἐᾶσαι, ἀποκλεῖσαι δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, βιαζομένους δὲ
109 τύπτειν. τῶν δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν ποιησάντων εἰσ-
ῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς μετ' ὀλίγων. καὶ κελεύσαντος ἐμοῦ
ῥῖψαι τὰ ὅπλα θᾶττον, εἰ γὰρ ἀπειθοίη τεθνήξεσθαι,
περιεστῶτας ἰδὼν πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ τοὺς ὁπλίτας
φοβηθεὶς ὑπήκουσεν· οἱ δ' ἀποκλεισθέντες τῶν
ἐπακολουθούντων αὐτῷ πυθόμενοι τὴν σύλληψιν
110 ἔφυγον. κἀγὼ τὸν Ἰησοῦν προσκαλεσάμενος κατ'
ἰδίαν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ἔφην τὴν ἐπ' ἐμὲ συσκευασθεῖσαν
ἐπιβουλήν οὐδ' ὑπὸ τίνων πεμφθείη· συγγνώσεσθαι
δ' ὅμως αὐτῷ τῶν πεπραγμένων, εἰ μέλλοι μετα-
111 νοήσειν καὶ πιστὸς ἐμοὶ γενήσεσθαι. ὑπισχνου-
μένου δὲ πάντα ποιήσειν ἐκείνου ἀπέλυσα, συγχω-
ρήσας αὐτῷ συναγαγεῖν πάλιν οὓς πρότερον εἶχεν.
Σεπφωρίταις δ' ἠπείλησα, εἰ μὴ παύσαιντο τῆς
ἀγνωμοσύνης, λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν δίκας.
112 (23) Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀφικνοῦνται πρός
με δύο μεγιστᾶνες τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ βασι-
λέως ἐκ τῆς τῶν Τραχωνιτῶν χώρας ἐπαγόμενοι
τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἵππους καὶ ὅπλα, καὶ χρήματα
113 δ' ὑπεκκομίζοντες.[1] τούτους περιτέμνεσθαι τῶν

my consent; whereupon he made a rapid march upon me with his band of brigands. However, his malicious purpose did not attain its end, for, when he was close upon me, one of his men deserted and came and told me of his meditated attack. On receipt of this intelligence, I proceeded to the market-place, feigning ignorance of the plot; though I brought with me a large body of Galilaeans, under arms, with some Tiberians. I then gave orders for all the roads to be strictly guarded, and instructed the sentries at the gates to admit none but Jesus and the leaders on his arrival, and to exclude the rest, repelling with blows any who tried to force their way in. My orders were carried out and Jesus entered with a few others. On my commanding him instantly to drop his arms, on peril of death, he, seeing himself surrounded by the soldiers, was panic-stricken and complied. His excluded followers fled on hearing of his arrest. I then called Jesus aside and told him that I was not ignorant of the plot which he had contrived against me, nor who were his employers; I would, nevertheless, condone his actions if he would show repentance and prove his loyalty to me. All this he promised, and I let him go, allowing him to reassemble his former force. The Sepphorites I threatened to punish if they did not abandon their unreasonable conduct.

Josephus prevents forcible circumcision of refugees.

(23) About this time there came to me from the region of Trachonitis two nobles, subjects of the king,[a] bringing their horses, arms, and money which they had smuggled out of their country. The Jews

[a] Agrippa II.

Ἰουδαίων ἀναγκαζόντων, εἰ θέλουσιν εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐκ εἴασα βιασθῆναι, φάσκων δεῖν ἕκαστον [ἄνθρωπον] κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετὰ βίας, χρῆναι δὲ τούτους δι' ἀσφάλειαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καταφυγόντας μὴ μετανοεῖν. πεισθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους, τοῖς ἥκουσιν ἀνδράσιν τὰ πρὸς τὴν συνήθη δίαιταν ἅπαντα παρεῖχον δαψιλῶς.

114 (24) Πέμπει δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Αἴκουον Μόδιον[1] Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον ἐξαιρήσοντας. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες κυκλώσασθαι μὲν τὸ φρούριον οὐκ ἤρκεσαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς φανεροῖς τῶν τόπων ἐφεδρεύοντες ἐπολιόρκουν τὰ
115 Γάμαλα. Αἰβούτιος δὲ ὁ δεκάδαρχος ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου τὴν προστασίαν πεπιστευμένος, ἀκούσας ὅτι παρείην εἰς Σιμωνιάδα κώμην ἐν μεθορίῳ[2] κειμένην τῆς Γαλιλαίας, αὐτοῦ δ' ἀπέχουσαν ἑξήκοντα σταδίους, [νυκτὸς] ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἱππεῖς οὓς εἶχεν σὺν αὐτῷ καί τινας πεζοὺς περὶ διακοσίους, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Γάβᾳ πόλει κατοικοῦντας ἐπαγόμενος συμμάχους, νυκτὸς ὁδεύσας
116 ἧκεν εἰς τὴν κώμην ἐν ᾗ διέτριβον. ἀντιπαραταξαμένου δὲ κἀμοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς, ὁ μὲν Αἰβούτιος εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὑπάγειν ἡμᾶς ἐπειρᾶτο, σφόδρα γὰρ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐπεποίθει. οὐ μὴν ὑπηκούσαμεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὸ πλεονέκτημα συνιδὼν τὸ γενησόμενον τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, εἰ καταβαίημεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, πεζοὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς σύμπαντες ἦμεν, ἔγνων
117 αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις συνάπτειν. καὶ μέχρι μέν τινος γενναίως ἀντέσχεν σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ

[1] Μονόδιον R; *cf.* § 61.
[2] μορίῳ P: μεθορίοις the other MSS.

would have compelled them to be circumcised as a condition of residence among them. I, however, would not allow any compulsion to be put upon them, declaring that every one should worship God in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience and not under constraint, and that these men, having fled to us for refuge, ought not to be made to regret that they had done so. Having brought over the people to my way of thinking, I liberally supplied our guests with all things necessary to their customary manner of life.

(24) King Agrippa now sent a force under the command of Aequus Modius to destroy the fortress of Gamala. The troops sent, being insufficient to invest the place, lay in wait on open ground and attempted a siege. Aebutius, the decurion, who had been entrusted with the charge of the Great Plain,[a] hearing that I was at Simonias,[b] a village on the frontier of Galilee, sixty furlongs away from him, set off with the hundred horse at his disposal, some two hundred infantry, and the inhabitants of the town of Gaba[c] as auxiliaries, and by a night march reached the village where I had my quarters. I confronted him with a large force in order of battle. Aebutius, relying mainly on his cavalry, endeavoured to decoy us into the plain. We, however, refused to accommodate him; realizing the advantage which his horse would have over our troops, composed entirely of infantry, should we descend into the plain, I determined to engage the enemy on my own ground. For a time Aebutius and his men

His first encounter with a Roman force.

[a] Of Esdraelon. [b] *Semūnieh*, due west of Nazareth.

[c] In the Great Plain; founded by Herod the Great and called "City of Cavalry" after the discharged troops there quartered, *B*. iii. 36, *cf*. *A*. xv. 294.

Αἰβούτιος, ἀχρεῖον δ᾿ ὁρῶν κατὰ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον οὖσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἱππικὴν δύναμιν ἀναζεύγνυσιν ἄπρακτος εἰς Γάβαν πόλιν, τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἀποβαλὼν
118 κατὰ τὴν μάχην. εἰπόμην δὲ κατὰ πόδας ἐγὼ δισχιλίους ἐπαγόμενος ὁπλίτας· καὶ περὶ Βησάραν πόλιν γενόμενος, ἐν μεθορίῳ μὲν τῆς Πτολεμαΐδος κειμένην εἴκοσι δ᾿ ἀπέχουσαν στάδια τῆς Γάβας, ἔνθα διέτριβεν Αἰβούτιος, στήσας τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἔξωθεν τῆς κώμης καὶ φρουρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῶς τὰς ὁδοὺς προστάξας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἐνοχλῆσαι τοὺς
119 πολεμίους ἡμῖν ἕως τὸν σῖτον ἐκφορήσομεν, πολὺς γὰρ ἀπέκειτο Βερενίκης τῆς βασιλίδος ἐκ τῶν πέριξ κωμῶν εἰς τὴν Βησάραν συλλεγόμενος, πληρώσας τὰς καμήλους καὶ τοὺς ὄνους, πολλοὺς δ᾿ ἐπηγόμην, διέπεμψα τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.
120 τοῦτο δὲ πράξας προεκαλούμην εἰς μάχην τὸν Αἰβούτιον· οὐχ ὑπακούσαντος δ᾿ ἐκείνου, κατεπέπληκτο γὰρ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἑτοιμότητα καὶ τὸ θράσος, ἐπὶ Νεοπολιτανὸν ἐτραπόμην, τὴν Τιβεριέων χώραν ἀκούσας ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ λεηλατεῖσθαι.
121 ἦν δὲ ὁ Νεοπολιτανὸς ἴλης μὲν ἔπαρχος, παρειλήφει δὲ τὴν Σκυθόπολιν εἰς φυλακὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. τοῦτον οὖν κωλύσας ἐπὶ πλέον τὴν Τιβεριέων κακοῦν περὶ τὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας πρόνοιαν ἐγινόμην.

122 (25) Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Λευῒ παῖς Ἰωάννης, ὃν ἔφαμεν ἐν τοῖς Γισχάλοις διατρίβειν, πυθόμενος πάντα κατὰ νοῦν μοι προχωρεῖν, καὶ δι᾿ εὐνοίας μὲν εἶναί με τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, τοῖς πολεμίοις δὲ δι᾿ ἐκπλήξεως, οὐκ εὖ τὴν γνώμην διετέθη,[1] κατάλυσιν δ᾿ αὐτῷ τὴν ἐμὴν εὐπραγίαν φέρειν νομίζων εἰς φθόνον ἐξώκειλεν

made a gallant stand; but seeing that his cavalry were useless in such surroundings, he withdrew to the town of Gaba, having failed in his object and lost three men in the engagement. I followed close behind with two thousand infantry, and on reaching the neighbourhood of the town of Besara, on the borders of Ptolemais, twenty furlongs from Gaba, where Aebutius was stationed, I posted my men outside the village, with orders to keep strict guard on the roads, so as to prevent interference from the enemy, while we were removing the corn. Of this a large quantity, belonging to Queen Berenice, had been collected from the neighbouring villages and stored in Besara. I then loaded the camels and asses, which I had brought with me in large numbers, and dispatched the corn to Galilee. This done, I offered Aebutius battle; and when he declined it, overawed by my readiness for action and intrepidity, I turned upon Neopolitanus, who, I heard, was ravaging the district of Tiberias. Neopolitanus was commander of a squadron of horse, who had been commissioned to protect Scythopolis from the enemy. Having prevented him from doing further injury to the Tiberian territory, I devoted my attention to the welfare of Galilee.

John attempts to alienate Galilee from Josephus.

(25) But when John, son of Levi, who, as I said,[a] was now at Gischala, heard that everything was proceeding to my satisfaction, that I was popular with those under my authority and a terror to the enemy, he was in no good humour; and, believing that my success involved his own ruin, gave way to

[a] § 101.

[1] Niese: ἐτέθη MSS.

123 οὔτι μέτριον. καὶ παύσειν με τῆς εὐτυχίας ἐλπίσας, εἰ παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων μῖσος ἐξάψειεν, ἔπειθεν τοὺς τὴν Τιβεριάδα κατοικοῦντας καὶ τοὺς τὴν Σέπφωριν[1] πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ τοὺς Γάβαρα, πόλεις δ' εἰσὶν αὗται τῶν κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν αἱ μέγισται, τῆς πρός με πίστεως ἀποστάντας αὐτῷ προστίθεσθαι· κρεῖττον γὰρ ἐμοῦ στρατηγήσειν αὐτῶν ἔφασκεν.
124 καὶ Σεπφωρεῖς μέν, οὐδετέρῳ γὰρ ἡμῶν προσεῖχον διὰ τὸ Ῥωμαίους ᾑρῆσθαι δεσπότας, οὐκ ἐπένευον αὐτῷ, Τιβεριεῖς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀπόστασιν οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, [καὶ] αὐτοῦ δὲ συγκατένευον γενήσεσθαι φίλοι. οἱ δὲ Γάβαρα κατοικοῦντες προστίθενται τῷ Ἰωάννῃ· Σίμων δ' ἦν ὁ παρακαλῶν αὐτούς, πρωτεύων μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ὡς φίλῳ δὲ καὶ ἑταίρῳ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ
125 χρώμενος. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τοῦ φανεροῦ τὴν ἀπόστασιν οὐχ ὡμολόγουν· σφόδρα γὰρ ἐδεδοίκεσαν τοὺς Γαλιλαίους ἅτε δὴ πεῖραν αὐτῶν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολλάκις εὐνοίας λαβόντες· ἐκ τοῦ λεληθότος δὲ καιρὸν παραφυλάσσοντες ἐπιτήδειον ἐπεβούλευον. καὶ δὴ ἀφικόμην εἰς κίνδυνον τὸν μέγιστον διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν.

126 (26) Νεανίσκοι τινὲς θρασεῖς, Δαβαριττηνοὶ γένος, ἐπιτηρήσαντες τὴν Πτολεμαίου γυναῖκα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτρόπου, μετὰ πολλῆς παρασκευῆς καί τινων ἱππέων ἀσφαλείας χάριν ἑπομένων διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου τὴν πορείαν ποιουμένην ἐκ τῆς τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὑποτελοῦς χώρας εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων
127 ἐπικράτειαν, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς ἄφνω· καὶ τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα φυγεῖν ἠνάγκασαν, ὅσα δ' ἐπεφέρετο[2]

[1] So R: the other MSS. add νομίζων.
[2] ὑπεφέρετο PR.

[a] Daberath (Josh. xix. 12), mod. *Debūrieh*, under the

immoderate envy. Hoping to check my good fortune by inspiring hatred of me in those under my command, he tried to induce the inhabitants of Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Gabara—the three chief cities of Galilee—to abandon their allegiance to me and go over to him, asserting that they would find him a better general than I was. Sepphoris, in pursuance of its policy of submission to Rome, lent no ear to either of us and rejected these overtures. Tiberias, while declining the suggestion of revolt, consented to befriend him. Gabara, at the instigation of Simon, a leading citizen and a friend and associate of John, went over to his side. The people of Gabara, it is true, did not openly admit their defection; their dread of the Galilaeans, of whose devotion to me they had had frequent experience, was too great a deterrent. But they secretly laid their plots and watched for a favourable opportunity for their execution; whereby I incurred the gravest peril under the following circumstances.

The affair of the highwaymen of Dabaritta and the stolen property.

(26) Some adventurous young men of Dabaritta[a] lay in wait for the wife of Ptolemy, the king's overseer.[b] She was travelling in great state, protected by an escort of cavalry, from territory subject to the royal jurisdiction into the region of Roman dominion,[c] when, as she was crossing the Great Plain, they suddenly fell upon the cavalcade, compelled the

western slopes of Mt. Tabor. With the whole of this story *cf.* the parallel account in *B.* ii. 595 ff.

[b] Or "finance officer." The Greek word is that elsewhere used for the Roman *procurator*.

[c] Agrippa's kingdom was the district E. and N.E. of the Sea of Galilee. The lady, who was probably *en route* for Caesarea, would, after crossing the independent region of Decapolis, enter the Roman province shortly before reaching the Great Plain of Esdraelon.

πάντα διήρπασαν. καὶ ἧκον εἰς Ταριχέας πρός με τέσσαρας ἡμιόνους καταφόρτους ἄγοντες ἐσθῆτος καὶ σκευῶν· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀργυρίου σταθμὸς οὐκ
128 ὀλίγος καὶ χρυσοῖ πεντακόσιοι. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ βουλόμενος διαφυλάξαι τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁμόφυλος, ἀπηγόρευται δ' ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀποστερεῖν, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς κομίσαντας ἔφην φυλάττειν αὐτὰ δεῖν, ἵν' ἐκ τῆς πράσεως αὐτῶν ἐπισκευασθῇ τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἱερο-
129 σολύμων. οἱ δὲ νεανίαι χαλεπῶς ἔσχον οὐ λαβόντες μοῖραν ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων καθάπερ προσεδόκησαν, καὶ πορευθέντες εἰς τὰς πέριξ τῆς Τιβεριάδος κώμας προδιδόναι μέλλειν με Ῥωμαίοις τὴν χώραν
130 αὐτῶν ἔλεγον· κεχρῆσθαι γὰρ σοφίσματι πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγοντα τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς κομισθέντα φυλάττειν εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τῶν τειχῶν τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως, ἐγνωκέναι δὲ πάλιν τῷ
131 δεσπότῃ ἀποδοῦναι.[1] καὶ κατὰ τοῦτό γε τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης οὐ διήμαρτον· ἀπαλλαγέντων γὰρ αὐτῶν μεταπεμψάμενος δύο τοὺς πρώτους, Δασσίωνα καὶ Ἰανναῖον τὸν τοῦ Ληουΐ, φίλους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βασιλέως καθεστῶτας, τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς σκεύη λαβόντας διαπέμψασθαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευον, θάνατον ἀπειλήσας αὐτοῖς τὴν ζημίαν, εἰ πρὸς ἕτερον ταῦτα ἀπαγγελοῦσιν.

132 (27) Ἐπισχούσης δὲ φήμης τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἅπασαν ὡς τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν μελλούσης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προδίδοσθαι καὶ πάντων παροξυνθέντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τιμωρίαν, οἱ τὰς Ταριχέας κατοικοῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀληθεύειν ὑπολαβόντες πείθουσι τοὺς σωματοφύλακας καὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας κοιμώμενόν με καταλιπόντας παρα-

lady to fly, and plundered all her baggage. They then came to me at Tarichaeae with four mules laden with apparel and other articles, besides a large pile of silver and five hundred pieces of gold. My own desire was to keep these spoils for Ptolemy, seeing that he was a compatriot and we are forbidden by our laws to rob even an enemy;[a] to the bearers I said that the goods must be reserved for sale and the proceeds devoted to the repair of the walls of Jerusalem. Indignant at not receiving their expected share of the spoils, the young men went to the villages around Tiberias, declaring that I intended to betray their country to the Romans. My assertion about keeping the outcome of their raid for the repair of the walls of the capital was, they said, a mere blind; I had really decided to restore it to its owner. So far, indeed, they correctly interpreted my intention; for, when they left me, I sent for two of the leaders, Dassion and Jannaeus, son of Levi, who were special friends of the king, and ordered them to take the stolen goods and dispatch them to him, threatening them with capital punishment if they reported the matter to anyone.

(27) A rumour had now spread throughout Galilee that I was intending to betray the country to the Romans, and the feelings of all were roused to demand my punishment. The young men's statement was credited even by the inhabitants of Tarichaeae, who now urged my bodyguards and soldiers to leave me while I was asleep and come at

Josephus suspected of treason. The plot against his life at Tarichaeae.

[a] *Cf.* Ex. xxiii. 4.

[1] + τὰ ἡρπασμένα most MSS. (omit R).

γενέσθαι θᾶττον εἰς ἱππόδρομον, ὡς ἐκεῖ βου-
λευσομένους μετὰ πάντων περὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ.
133 πειθομένων δὲ τούτων καὶ συνελθόντων πολὺς
ὄχλος ἤδη προσυνήθροιστο, μίαν τε πάντες ἐποι-
οῦντο φωνήν, κολάζειν τὸν προδότην πονηρὸν περὶ
134 αὐτοὺς γεγενημένον. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐξέκαιεν
ὁ τοῦ Σαπφία[1] παῖς Ἰησοῦς, ἄρχων τότε τῆς
Τιβεριάδος, πονηρὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ταράξαι μεγάλα
πράγματα φύσιν ἔχων, στασιοποιός τε καὶ νεωτε-
ριστὴς ὡς οὐχ ἕτερος. καὶ τότε δὴ λαβὼν εἰς
χεῖρας τοὺς Μωυσέως νόμους καὶ προελθὼν[2] εἰς
135 μέσον "εἰ μὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν," ἔφη, "πολῖται,
μισεῖν δύνασθε Ἰώσηπον, εἰς τοὺς πατρίους ἀπο-
βλέψαντες νόμους, ὧν ὁ πρῶτος ὑμῶν στρατηγὸς
προδότης ἔμελλε γίνεσθαι, καὶ μισοπονηρήσαντες
ὑπὲρ τούτων τιμωρήσασθε τὸν τοιαῦτα τολ-
μήσαντα."
136 (28) Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιβοήσαντος
ἀναλαβών τινας ὁπλίτας ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ᾗ
κατηγόμην ἔσπευδεν ὡς ἀναιρήσων. ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν
προαισθόμενος διὰ κόπον πρὸ τῆς ταραχῆς κατ-
137 εσχήμην.[3] Σίμων δ' ὁ τοῦ σώματός μου τὴν
φυλακὴν πεπιστευμένος, ὁ καὶ μόνος παραμείνας,
ἰδὼν τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν τῶν πολιτῶν διήγειρέ με καὶ
τὸν ἐφεστῶτά μοι κίνδυνον ἐξήγγειλεν, ἠξίου τε
γενναίως θνήσκειν ὡς στρατηγὸν ὑφ' αὑτοῦ,[4] πρὶν δ'
ἢ ἐλθεῖν[5] τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀναγκάσοντας ἢ κτενοῦντας.
138 ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ θεῷ τὰ κατ' ἐμ-
αυτὸν ἐπιτρέψας εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ὡρμήθην προελθεῖν.
μετενδὺς οὖν μέλαιναν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸ ξίφος ἀπαρ-

[1] Σαπφία Hudson, *cf.* § 66 and *B.J.*: Σαπίθα MSS.
[2] Niese: προσελθὼν MSS.

once to the hippodrome, to take part in a general discussion on their commander's conduct. Their persuasion prevailed, and the men joining the assembly found a large crowd already collected, unanimously crying for vengeance on one who had proved so base a traitor. The principal instigator of the mob was Jesus, son of Sapphias, at that time chief magistrate of Tiberias, a knave with an instinct for introducing disorder into grave matters,[a] and unrivalled in fomenting sedition and revolution. With a copy of the laws of Moses in his hands, he now stepped forward and said: "If you cannot, for your own sakes, citizens, detest Josephus, fix your eyes on your country's laws, which your commander-in-chief intended to betray, and for their sakes hate the crime and punish the audacious criminal."

(28) After this speech, which was loudly applauded, he hurried, with some soldiers, to the house where I was lodging, intending to kill me. I, quite unaware of what was coming, had, from fatigue, succumbed [to sleep] before the riot. Simon, who was entrusted with the charge of my person and had alone remained with me, seeing the citizens rushing towards me, awoke me and, telling me of my imminent peril, entreated me to die honourably, as a general, by my own hand, before my foes arrived to force me to such action or to kill me themselves. Such were his words; but I, committing my fate to God, hastened to go forth to the people. Changing my raiment for one of black and suspending my sword from my

[a] The same phrase in *A.* xvii. 325.

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[3] ὕπνῳ has probably dropped out; *cf.* *A.* v. 148.
[4] ὑφ' αὑτοῦ (=ὑπ' ἐμαυτοῦ) cod. R: omit M, ὑπ' (ἐπ') αὐτοῦ the rest.
[5] Text emended: πρὶν δὴ ἐλθεῖν R, πρὶν διελθεῖν the rest.

τησάμενος ἐκ τοῦ αὐχένος καθ' ὁδὸν ἑτέραν, ᾗ μηδένα μοι τῶν πολεμίων ὑπαντιάσειν ᾤμην, ᾔειν εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον, ἄφνω τε φανεὶς καὶ πρηνὴς πεσὼν καὶ τὴν γῆν δάκρυσιν φύρων ἐλεεινὸς ἔδοξα
139 πᾶσιν. συνεὶς δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τὴν μεταβολὴν διιστάναι τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν ἐπειρώμην πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ὑποστρέψαι. καὶ συνεχώρουν μὲν ἀδικεῖν, ὡς αὐτοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἐδεόμην δὲ διδάξαι πρότερον εἰς τίνα χρείαν ἐφύλαττον τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς κομισθέντα χρήματα
140 καὶ τότε θνήσκειν, εἰ κελεύοιεν. τοῦ δὲ πλήθους λέγειν κελεύοντος ἐπῆλθον οἱ ὁπλῖται καὶ θεασάμενοί με προσέτρεχον ὡς κτενοῦντες. ἐπισχεῖν δὲ τοῦ πλήθους κελεύοντος ἐπείσθησαν προσδοκῶντες, ἐπειδὰν ὁμολογήσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰ χρήματα τῷ βασιλεῖ τετηρηκέναι, ὡς ὡμολογηκότα τὴν προδοσίαν ἀναιρήσειν.

141 (29) Σιγῆς οὖν παρὰ πάντων γενομένης, " ἄνδρες," εἶπον, " ὁμόφυλοι, θανεῖν μὲν εἰ δίκαιόν ἐστιν, οὐ παραιτοῦμαι, βούλομαι δ' ὅμως πρὸ τοῦ
142 τελευτῆσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν φράσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. τὴν γὰρ πόλιν ταύτην φιλοξενωτάτην οὖσαν ἐπιστάμενος πληθύουσάν τε προθύμως[1] τοσούτων ἀνδρῶν, οἳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας καταλιπόντες ἀφίκοντο κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενόμενοι[2] τύχης, ἐβουλήθην τείχη κατασκευάσαι ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων, περὶ ὧν ἡ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐστιν ὀργή, δαπανω-
143 μένων εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν αὐτῶν." πρὸς ταῦτα παρὰ μὲν τῶν Ταριχεωτῶν καὶ ξένων ἐγείρεται φωνὴ χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογούντων καὶ θαρρεῖν προτρεπομένων, Γαλιλαῖοι δὲ καὶ Τιβεριεῖς τοῖς θυμοῖς ἐπέμενον, καὶ γίνεται στάσις πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τῶν

neck, I proceeded by another road, on which I expected that no enemy would encounter me, to the hippodrome; where my sudden appearance, as I flung myself on my face and rained tears upon the ground, aroused universal compassion. Observing the effect produced upon the people, I endeavoured to create dissension among them before the soldiers returned from my house. I admitted that, according to their view of the matter, I was guilty, but craved leave to inform them for what purpose I was reserving the money obtained by the raid, before, if they so ordered, I was put to death. The crowd were just bidding me proceed, when the soldiers appeared and, at sight of me, rushed forward to kill me. At the people's order, however, they stayed their hands; expecting, as soon as I had owned to having kept the money for the king, to slay me as an avowed traitor.

He appeals to the people and hardly escapes alive.

(29) Thereupon, amid profound silence, I spoke as follows: "My countrymen, if I deserve to die, I ask no mercy; but, before my death, I desire to tell you the truth. Knowing the lavish hospitality of this city and that it is crowded with vast numbers of persons who have left their homes and gladly come to throw in their lot with ours, I proposed to provide fortifications for it with the money, about which, though it was to be expended on their erection, you are now so indignant." At this a shout was raised by the Tarichaeans and their guests, who expressed their gratitude and bade me not be disheartened. The Galilaeans and Tiberians, however, still maintained their resentment, and a quarrel arose, one party

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[1] Probably misplaced.
[2] γενησόμενοι conj. Niese.

μὲν κολάσειν ἀπειλούντων με, τῶν δὲ καταφρονεῖν.
144 ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐπηγγειλάμην καὶ Τιβεριάδι κατα-
σκευάσειν τείχη καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν αὐτῶν ταῖς
ἀναγκαίαις, πιστεύσαντες ὑπεχώρουν ἕκαστος εἰς
τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. κἀγὼ παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα διαφυγὼν
τὸν προειρημένον κίνδυνον μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ
ὁπλιτῶν εἴκοσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ὑπέστρεψα.
145 (30) Πάλιν δ' οἱ λῃσταὶ καὶ τῆς στάσεως αἴτιοι,
δείσαντες περὶ ἑαυτῶν μὴ δίκας εἰσπραχθῶσιν ὑπ'
ἐμοῦ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἀναλαβόντες ἑξακοσίους
ὁπλίτας ἧκον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἔνθα διέτριβον ἐμπρή-
146 σοντες αὐτήν. ἀπαγγελθείσης δέ μοι τῆς ἐφόδου
φεύγειν μὲν ἀπρεπὲς ἡγησάμην, ἔκρινα δὲ παρα-
βαλόμενος χρήσασθαί τι καὶ τόλμῃ. προστάξας
οὖν ἀποκλεῖσαι τῆς οἰκίας τὰς θύρας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ
ὑπερῷον ἀναβὰς παρεκάλουν εἰσπέμψαι τινὰς λῃψο-
μένους τὰ χρήματα· παύσεσθαι[1] γὰρ οὕτως τῆς
147 ὀργῆς αὐτοὺς ἔφην. εἰσπεμψάντων δὲ τὸν θρα-
σύτατον αὐτῶν,[2] μάστιξιν αἰκισάμενος τὴν ἑτέραν
τε τῶν χειρῶν ἀποκόψαι κελεύσας καὶ κρεμάσαι
ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου, τοιοῦτον ἐξέβαλον πρὸς τοὺς
148 ἐξαποστείλαντας. τοὺς δ' ἔλαβεν ἔκπληξις καὶ
φόβος οὔτι μέτριος. δείσαντες οὖν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταὐτὰ
πείσεσθαι εἰ μένοιεν, εἴκαζον γὰρ ἔνδον ἔχειν με
πλείους αὐτῶν,[3] εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. κἀγὼ τοιούτῳ
στρατηγήματι χρησάμενος τὴν δευτέραν ἐπιβουλὴν
διέφυγον.
149 (31) Πάλιν δὲ τὸν ὄχλον τινὲς ἠρέθιζον τοὺς

[1] Niese: παύσασθαι MSS.
[2] Cod. R adds εἰς τὸ μυχαίτατον παρασύρας τῆς οἰκίας καί: probably a gloss from *B*. ii. 612.
[3] So P: the rest add ὁπλίτας.

threatening to have my blood, the other [exhorting me] to disregard [these opponents].[a] But when I further promised to provide fortifications for Tiberias and for any other of their cities which needed them, they, on the strength of this undertaking, retired to their several homes. Having thus, beyond all expectation, escaped from the peril which I have described, I returned to my house, accompanied by my friends and twenty soldiers.

(30) I was not long left in peace. The brigands and the promoters of the disturbance, fearing that they would be called to account by me for their proceedings, again visited my residence, with six hundred armed men, to set it on fire. Apprised of their coming, and considering it undignified to fly, I decided to risk a course requiring some courage. Ordering the house-doors to be closed, I ascended to the upper story and invited them to send some of their number to receive the money,[b] thinking thus to allay their anger. They sent in the most stalwart among them, whereupon I had him soundly scourged, ordered one of his hands to be severed and hung about his neck and in that condition dismissed him to his employers. Panic-stricken and in great alarm, supposing that I had indoors a force outnumbering their own, and fearing, if they remained, to meet the same fate themselves, my opponents made off in haste. Such was the stratagem by which I eluded this second plot.

A second plot to burn down the house of Josephus.

(31) The feelings of the masses were once again aroused against me by certain persons who asserted

Further persecution of refugees.

[a] There is possibly a lacuna in the text.

[b] Viz. from the spoils taken by the highwaymen of Dabaritta.

ἀφικομένους πρός με βασιλικοὺς μεγιστᾶνας οὐκ
ὀφείλειν ζῆν λέγοντες, μὴ μεταβῆναι θέλοντας εἰς
τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔθη, πρὸς οὓς σωθησόμενοι πάρεισι·
διέβαλλόν τε φαρμακέας εἶναι λέγοντες καὶ κωλυτὰς
τοῦ Ῥωμαίων περιγενέσθαι.[1] ταχὺ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος
ἐπείθετο ταῖς τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς χάριν αὐτοῖς
150 πιθανότησιν ἀπατώμενοι. πυθόμενος δὲ περὶ τού-
των ἐγὼ πάλιν τὸν δῆμον ἀνεδίδασκον μὴ δεῖν
διώκεσθαι τοὺς καταφυγόντας πρὸς αὐτούς, τὸν δὲ
φλύαρον τῆς περὶ τῶν φαρμάκων αἰτίας διέσυρον,
οὐκ ἂν τοσαύτας μυριάδας στρατιωτῶν Ῥωμαίους
λέγων τρέφειν, εἰ διὰ φαρμακέων[2] ἦν νικᾶν τοὺς
151 πολεμίους. ταῦτα λέγοντος ἐμοῦ πρὸς ὀλίγον μὲν
ἐπείθοντο, πάλιν δ' ἀναχωρήσαντες ὑπὸ τῶν πονη-
ρῶν ἐξηρεθίζοντο κατὰ τῶν μεγιστάνων, καί ποτε
μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐν Ταριχέᾳ
152 ἐπῆλθον ὡς ἀναιρήσοντες. ἔδεισα δ' ἐγὼ πυθό-
μενος μὴ τοῦ μύσους τέλος λαβόντος ἀνεπίβατος
153 γένηται τοῖς καταφυγεῖν εἰς αὐτὴν θέλουσιν. παρ-
εγενόμην οὖν εἰς τὴν τῶν μεγιστάνων οἰκίαν μετά
τινων ἑτέρων, καὶ κλείσας διώρυγά τε ποιήσας ἀπ'[3]
αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην ἄγουσαν μεταπεμψάμενός τε
πλοῖον καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐμβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν μεθόριον τῶν
Ἱππηνῶν διεπέρασα, καὶ δοὺς αὐτοῖς τὴν τιμὴν
τῶν ἵππων, οὐ γὰρ ἠδυνήθην αὐτοὺς ἐπαγαγέσθαι
τοιαύτης γενομένης τῆς ἀποδράσεως, ἀπέλυσα
πολλὰ παρακαλέσας τὴν προσπεσοῦσαν ἀνάγκην
154 γενναίως ἐνεγκεῖν. αὐτός τε μεγάλως ἤχθόμην
βιασθεὶς τοὺς προσφυγόντας ἐκθεῖναι πάλιν εἰς
τὴν πολεμίαν, ἄμεινον δὲ νομίσας παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις

[1] Emended: τοὺς (τοῦ A) Ῥωμαίους παραγενέσθαι MSS.
[2] φαρμάκων PR. [3] ἐπ' MSS.

that the noble vassals of the king, who had come to me,[a] ought not to live if they refused to conform to the customs of those with whom they had sought refuge; they also falsely accused them of being sorcerers who made it impossible to defeat the Romans. Deluded by specious assertions designed to catch their ear, the people readily believed them to be true. On hearing of this, I again[b] impressed upon the community that such refugees ought to be free from persecution; and ridiculed the absurdity of the charge of sorcery by remarking that the Romans would not maintain so vast an army if they could defeat their enemies by enchantments. My words had a temporary effect; but, after their departure, their passions were again aroused against the nobles by their villainous advisers, and on one occasion they made an armed assault on their house in Tarichaeae, intending to kill them. On being informed of this I feared that, if so abominable a crime were committed, the place would be rendered untenable as an asylum for would-be refugees. So I went with some others to the residence of the nobles, locked it up, made a canal leading from the house[c] to the lake, summoned a boat, and, embarking with them, crossed over to the frontiers of the district of Hippos.[d] I paid them the price of their horses, which the conditions of our flight made it impossible for me to bring, and so took my leave, earnestly entreating them to bear their hard fate with fortitude. I was myself deeply distressed at being driven to expose these refugees once more on enemy soil; but I thought it better

[a] *Cf.* § 112. [b] § 113.

[c] Presumably close to the water.

[d] A Greek town of Decapolis, just outside the frontier of King Agrippa's territory.

ἀποθανεῖν αὐτούς, εἰ συμπέσοι, μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν. οἱ δ᾿ ἄρα διεσώθησαν· συνεχώρησεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας τὰ ἡμαρτημένα. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ ἐκείνους τοῦτ᾿ ἔσχε τὸ τέλος.

155 (32) Οἱ δὲ τὴν τῶν Τιβεριέων πόλιν κατοικοῦντες γράφουσιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα παρακαλοῦντες πέμψαι δύναμιν τὴν φυλάξουσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν· θέλειν γὰρ αὐτῷ προστίθεσθαι. κἀκείνῳ μὲν ταῦτ᾿ ἔ-
156 γραφον. ἀφικόμενον δέ με πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλουν τὰ τείχη κατασκευάζειν αὐτοῖς ὡς ὑπεσχήμην· ἠκηκόεισαν δὲ τὰς Ταριχέας ἤδη τετειχίσθαι. κατανεύσας οὖν ἐγὼ καὶ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν παρασκευασάμενος τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας ἐκέλευον
157 ἐνεργεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τρίτην ἡμέραν εἰς Ταριχέας ἀπερχομένου μου, τῆς Τιβεριάδος ἀπεχούσας στάδια τριάκοντα, συνέβη τινὰς Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς οὐ πόρρωθεν τῆς πόλεως ὁδοιποροῦντας ὀφθῆναι, οἳ δόξαν παρέσχον τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δύναμιν ἥκειν.
158 εὐθέως γοῦν εἰς μὲν τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ πολλῶν ἐπαίνων ἠφίεσαν φωνάς, κατ᾿ ἐμοῦ δὲ βλασφήμους. καὶ ἐπιδραμών τις ἀπήγγειλέν μοι τὴν διάνοιαν
159 αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀφίστασθαί μου διεγνώκασιν. ἐγὼ δ᾿ ἀκούσας ἐταράχθην μὲν σφόδρα· τοὺς γὰρ ὁπλίτας ἔτυχον ἐκ τῶν Ταριχεῶν ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτῶν οἰκήσεις ἀφεικὼς διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν σάββατον ὑπάρχειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλόμην ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους ἐνοχλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Ταριχέαις.
160 ὁσάκις γοῦν ἐν αὐταῖς διέτριβον οὐδὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα φυλακῆς ἐποιούμην πρόνοιαν, πεῖραν παρὰ τῶν ἐνοικούντων τῆς πρός με πίστεως λαβὼν
161 πολλάκις. μόνους δ᾿ ἔχων περὶ ἐμαυτὸν ἑπτὰ τῶν

that they should perish, if such destiny awaited them, under Roman hands than within my own province. After all they escaped, obtaining pardon for their errors from King Agrippa. So ended this episode.

(32) The citizens of Tiberias now wrote [a] to the king, requesting him to send some troops to protect their territory, as they desired to attach themselves to him. Such was their letter to him; while they asked me, on my coming among them, to build walls for them in fulfilment of my promise,[b] having heard that Tarichaeae had already been fortified. I agreed and, having made all preparations for building, ordered the foremen to take the work in hand. Three days later, however, as I was on the road to Tarichaeae, which is thirty furlongs distant from Tiberias, some Roman cavalry happened to be seen on the march not far from the town; this created an impression that the king's troops were approaching. Instantly there was an outburst of shouts; the king was loudly applauded, curses were heaped upon my head. I was informed of their intended defection by one who ran off to me from the town. The news filled me with alarm; for I had dismissed my soldiers from Tarichaeae to their homes because, the next day being the Sabbath, I desired that the Tarichaeans should be spared any annoyance from the presence of the military. Indeed, whenever I had my quarters there, I took no precautions even for my personal security, having received so many proofs of the loyalty of the inhabitants.[c] My present company com-

Revolt of Tiberias, which declares for Herod.

[a] With this narrative *cf. B.* ii. 632 ff. [b] § 144.

[c] An instance of lack of ordinary precautions has been given in §§ 132 ff., on which occasion, however, little "loyalty" was shown!

ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἠπόρουν ὃ πράξω. μεταπέμπεσθαι γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν διὰ τὸ λήγειν ἤδη τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀφικομένης αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὅπλα λαβεῖν <ἦν>,[1] κωλυόντων ἡμᾶς τῶν νόμων, κἂν
162 μεγάλη τις ἐπείγειν ἀνάγκη δοκῇ. εἰ δὲ τοῖς Ταριχεώταις καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς ξένοις ἐπιτρέψαιμι τὴν πόλιν διαρπάζειν, ἑώρων οὐχ ἱκανοὺς ἐσομένους, τὴν δ' ἐμὴν ὑπέρθεσιν ἑώρων μακροτάτην· φθήσεσθαι γὰρ καὶ τὴν παρὰ βασιλέως δύναμιν ἀφικομένην, καὶ ἐκπεσεῖσθαι τῆς πόλεως
163 ᾠόμην. ἐβουλευόμην οὖν στρατηγήματι χρῆσθαί τινι κατ' αὐτῶν. παραχρῆμα δὴ τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν φίλων ταῖς πύλαις τῶν Ταριχεῶν ἐπιστήσας φυλάξοντας μετ' ἀσφαλείας τοὺς ἐξιέναι[2] θέλοντας καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν οἴκων προσκαλεσάμενος, αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἐκέλευσα καθελκύσαντα πλοῖον ἐμβάντα συνεπαγόμενον τὸν κυβερνήτην ἕπεσθαί
164 μοι πρὸς τὴν Τιβεριέων πόλιν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, οὓς ἔφην ἑπτὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι, ἐμβὰς ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Τιβεριάδα.

165 (33) Τιβεριεῖς δὲ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δύναμιν ὡς ἔγνωσαν οὐχ ἥκουσαν αὐτοῖς, πλοίων δὲ τὴν λίμνην πᾶσαν ἐθεάσαντο πλήρη, δείσαντες περὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ καταπλαγέντες ὡς ἐπιβατῶν πλήρεις
166 εἶναι νέας,[3] μετατίθενται τὰς γνώμας. ῥίψαντες οὖν τὰ ὅπλα μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων ὑπηντίαζον, πολλὰς μετ' ἐπαίνων εἰς ἐμὲ φωνὰς ἀφιέντες, εἴκαζον γὰρ οὐ προπεπύσθαι με τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν,
167 καὶ παρεκάλουν φείσασθαι τῆς πόλεως. ἐγὼ δὲ

[1] ἦν inserted by Holwerda.
[2] So the *editio princeps*: ἐξεῖναι MSS.

prising only seven soldiers and some friends, I was at a loss what to do. I was reluctant to recall my disbanded force, because the day was already far spent; and even had they come, it would have been impossible for them to bear arms on the morrow, such action being forbidden by our laws,[a] however urgent the apparent necessity. If, on the other hand, I were to permit the Tarichaeans and their resident aliens to sack Tiberias, I foresaw that their numbers would be insufficient and action on my part would be seriously delayed; the king's troops would have entered ahead of me, and I expected to be repulsed from the town. I determined, therefore, to have recourse to a ruse. Without a moment's delay I posted the friends in whom I placed most confidence at the gates of Tarichaeae, to keep a strict watch on any persons desiring egress. I then summoned the heads of families and ordered each of them to launch a vessel, bring the steersman with them, and follow me to Tiberias. I myself, with my friends and the seven soldiers already mentioned, then embarked and set sail for that city.

Josephus quells the revolt by a ruse: the sham fleet.

(33) The Tiberians, when they understood that no troops from the king had arrived and saw the whole lake alive with shipping, were alarmed for the city, and, terrified in the belief that the vessels were fully manned, changed their plans. Throwing down their arms they came out, with wives and children, to meet me, and, not imagining that I had got wind of their intentions, showered encomiums upon me and besought me to spare the city. On nearing Tiberias

[a] *i.e.* the oral law; *cf.* 1 Macc. ii. 34 ff.

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[3] Text doubtful: for εἶναι νέας MW read εἶεν αἱ νῆες.

πλησίον γενόμενος ἀγκύρας μὲν ἔτι πόρρω τῆς γῆς
ἐκέλευον βαλέσθαι τοὺς κυβερνήτας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ
κατάδηλα τοῖς Τιβεριεῦσιν εἶναι τὰ πλοῖα κενὰ
τῶν ἐπιβατῶν ὄντα, πλησιάσας δ' αὐτὸς ἔν τινι
πλοίῳ κατεμεμφόμην αὐτῶν τὴν ἄνοιαν,[1] καὶ ὅτι
δὴ οὕτως εὐχερεῖς εἶεν πάσης δικαίας ἄνευ προφά-
168 σεως ἐξίστασθαι τῆς πρός με πίστεως. ὡμολόγουν
δ' εἴς γε[2] τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς συγγνώσεσθαι βεβαίως,
εἰ πέμψειαν δέκα τοῦ πλήθους προεστῶτας. ὑπ-
ακουσάντων δ' ἑτοίμως καὶ πεμψάντων ἄνδρας οὓς
προεῖπον, ἐμβιβάσας ἀπέλυον εἰς Ταριχέας φυλαχθη-
σομένους.
169 (34) Τῷ στρατηγήματι δὲ τούτῳ τὴν βουλὴν
πᾶσαν κατ' ὀλίγους λαβὼν εἰς τὴν προειρημένην
πόλιν καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς τοῦ δήμου
πρώτους ἄνδρας οὐκ ἐλάττους ἐκείνων ὄντας
170 διεπεμψάμην. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος, ὡς εἶδον εἰς οἷον
κακῶν ἥκουσι μέγεθος, παρεκάλουν με τὸν αἴτιον
τῆς στάσεως τιμωρήσασθαι. Κλεῖτος δ' ἦν ὄνομα
171 τούτῳ, θρασύς τε καὶ προπετὴς νεανίας. ἐγὼ δ'
ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν οὐχ ὅσιον ἡγούμενος ὁμόφυλον
ἄνδρα, κολάσαι δ' ἀνάγκην ἔχων, τῶν περὶ ἐμέ
τινι σωματοφυλάκων Ληουεῖ προσέταξα προ-
ελθόντι κόψαι τοῦ Κλείτου τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν χειρῶν.
172 δείσαντος δὲ τοῦ κελευσθέντος εἰς τοσοῦτο πλῆθος
προελθεῖν μόνου, τὴν δειλίαν τοῦ στρατιώτου μὴ
βουληθεὶς κατάδηλον γενέσθαι τοῖς Τιβεριεῦσιν,
αὐτὸν Κλεῖτον φωνήσας "ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἄξιος," εἶπον,
"ὑπάρχεις ἀμφοτέρας τὰς χεῖρας ἀποβαλεῖν οὕτως
ἀχάριστος εἰς ἐμὲ γενόμενος, γενοῦ σαυτοῦ
δημόσιος,[3] μὴ καὶ ἀπειθήσας χείρονα τιμωρίαν
173 ὑπόσχῃς." τοῦ δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν αὐτῷ συγχωρῆσαι

I ordered the pilots to cast anchor at some distance from the land, in order to conceal from the Tiberians the absence of any marine force on board the vessels. I myself approached the shore with one ship and severely reprimanded the people for their folly and readiness to abandon their allegiance to me without any just excuse whatever. As to the future, however, I promised that they might rely on my pardon if they would send me ten of their leaders. Promptly accepting this proposal they sent me the men whose names I mentioned first; these I put on board and dispatched to Tarichaeae to be kept under arrest.

(34) By this ruse I made prisoners, in batches, of the whole council, and had them conveyed to Tarichaeae, along with most of the leading commoners, who numbered as many again. Seeing the wretched plight to which they were reduced, the people now urged me to take measures against the author of the sedition, a rash and headstrong youth named Cleitus. Deeming it impious to put a compatriot to death, yet imperatively necessary to punish him, I ordered Levi, one of my bodyguard, to step forward and cut off one of his hands. The man, notwithstanding these orders, was afraid to advance alone into such a crowd, whereupon, wishing to screen the soldier's cowardice from the Tiberians, I called up Cleitus and said: "For such base ingratitude to me you deserve to lose both hands. Act as your own executioner, lest, if you refuse, a worse punishment befall you." To his urgent request to spare him one hand I

Punishment of the ringleader.

[1] Emended (*cf. e.g.* §§ 323, 352): ἄγνοιαν MSS.
[2] Niese: τε MSS. [3] *v.l.* δήμιος.

πολλὰ δεομένου μόλις κατένευσα. κἀκεῖνος ἄ-
σμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὰς δύο χεῖρας ἀποβαλεῖν
λαβὼν μάχαιραν κόπτει τὴν ἀριστερὰν ἑαυτοῦ.
καὶ τοῦτο τὴν στάσιν ἔπαυσεν.

174 (35) Τιβεριεῖς δέ, ὡς εἰς τὰς Ταριχέας ἀφικόμην,
γνόντες τὴν στρατηγίαν ᾗ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐχρησάμην,
ἀπεθαύμαζον ὅτι χωρὶς φόνων ἔπαυσα τὴν ἀγνωμο-
175 σύνην αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς εἱρκτῆς μετα-
πεμψάμενος τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Τιβεριέων, ἦν δὲ
σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἰοῦστος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Πίστος,
συνδείπνους ἐποιησάμην, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἑστίασιν
ἔλεγον ὅτι τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς
ἀγνοῶ πασῶν διαφέρουσαν, σιγῴην μέντοι περὶ
176 αὐτῆς διὰ τοὺς λῃστάς. καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ ταὐτὰ
συνεβούλευον ποιεῖν τὸν ἐπιτήδειον περιμένουσι
καιρὸν καὶ μὴ δυσανασχετεῖν ἐμοὶ στρατηγῷ·
μηδενὸς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἑτέρου δυνήσεσθαι ῥᾳδίως
177 ἐπιεικοῦς ὁμοίως τυχεῖν. τὸν Ἰοῦστον δὲ καὶ
ὑπεμίμνησκον ὅτι πρόσθεν ἤ με παραγενέσθαι ἐκ
τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι τἀδελφοῦ τὰς
χεῖρας ἀποκόψειαν αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου πλα-
στῶν αὐτῷ γραμμάτων κακουργίαν ἐπικαλέσαντες,
καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν Φιλίππου
Γαμαλῖται πρὸς Βαβυλωνίους στασιάζοντες ἀν-
έλοιεν Χάρητα, συγγενὴς δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος τοῦ Φιλίππου,
178 καὶ ὡς Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, ἄνδρα τῆς
ἀδελφῆς Ἰούστου, ὠμοφρόνως[1] κολάσειαν. ταῦτα
παρὰ τὴν ἑστίασιν διαλεχθεὶς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰοῦστον
ἕωθεν ἐκέλευσα πάντας τῆς φυλακῆς ἀπολυθῆναι.

179 (36) Πρὸ δὲ τούτων συνέβη τὸν Ἰακίμου Φίλ-
ιππον ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ Γάμαλα τοῦ φρουρίου τοιαύτης

grudgingly consented;[a] at which, to save himself the loss of both, he gladly drew his sword and struck off his left hand. His action brought the sedition to an end.

(35) The Tiberians, discovering, on my arrival at Tarichaeae, the trick which I had played upon them, were amazed at the manner in which I had checked their arrogance without bloodshed. I now sent for my Tiberian prisoners, among whom were Justus and his father Pistus, and made them sup with me. During the entertainment I remarked that I was well aware myself of the unrivalled might of the Roman arms, but, on account of the brigands, kept my knowledge to myself. I advised them to do the same, to bide their time and not to be intolerant of my command, as they would not easily find another leader as considerate as myself. I further reminded Justus that, before I came from Jerusalem the Galilaeans had cut off his brother's hands on a charge of forging letters prior to the outbreak of hostilities; also how the people of Gamala, after Philip's departure, in an insurrection against the Babylonians, slew Chares, Philip's kinsman, and savagely murdered his brother Jesus, husband of the sister of the man I was addressing.[b] Such was the nature of my conversation at table with Justus and his companions. In the morning I gave orders that all my prisoners should be discharged.

The Tiberian prisoners released.

(36) Some time before the revolt of Tiberias, Philip, son of Jacimus, had left the fortress of Gamala

[a] The narrative, as here told, is confused and ridiculous; the parallel account in *B*. ii. 642 ff. is consistent.
[b] For the events referred to *cf*. §§ 179, 186 below.

[1] Naber: *σωφρόνως* or *σώφρονος* MSS.

180 αἰτίας γενομένης. Φίλιππος πυθόμενος μεθεστάναι μὲν Οὔαρον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππα, διάδοχον δὲ ἀφῖχθαι Μόδιον[1] Αἴκουον ἄνδρα φίλον αὐτῷ καὶ συνήθη πάλαι, γράφει πρὸς τοῦτον τὰς καθ' ἑαυτὸν τύχας ἀπαγγέλλων καὶ παρακαλῶν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ἀπο-
181 στεῖλαι. καὶ Μόδιος[2] δεξάμενος τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐχάρη σφόδρα, σώζεσθαι τὸν Φίλιππον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιγνούς, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ἔπεμψε τὰ
182 γράμματα περὶ Βηρυτὸν ὄντας. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ὡς ἔγνω ψευδῆ τὴν περὶ Φιλίππου φήμην γενομένην, λόγος γὰρ διῆλθεν ὡς στρατηγοίη τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον, ἔπεμψεν ἱππεῖς τοὺς παραπέμψοντας τὸν Φίλιππον.
183 καὶ παραγενόμενον ἀσπάζεταί τε φιλοφρόνως τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόσιν ἐπεδείκνυεν ὅτι δὴ Φίλιππος οὗτός ἐστιν περὶ οὗ διεξῄει λόγος ὡς Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάντος. κελεύει δ' αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς τινας ἀναλαβόντα θᾶττον εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον πορευθῆναι, τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῷ πάντας ἐκεῖθεν ἐξάξοντα καὶ τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους εἰς τὴν Βαταναίαν πάλιν ἀπο-
184 καταστήσοντα. παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν ποιήσασθαι πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι τινὰ νεωτερισμὸν παρὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων. Φίλιππος μὲν οὖν, ταῦτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιστείλαντος, ἔσπευδε ποιήσων ἃ προσέταξεν.

185 (37) Ἰώσηπος δ' ὁ[3] τῆς ἰατρίνης πολλοὺς νεανίσκους θρασεῖς προτρεψάμενος αὐτῷ συνάρασθαι καὶ ἐπαναστὰς τοῖς ἐν Γάμαλα πρώτοις

[1] Μονόδιον R; *cf.* §§ 61, 114.
[2] Μονόδιος R.
[3] δ' ὁ Naber: δὲ MSS.

under the following circumstances.[a] On hearing that Varus had been deposed by King Agrippa and that his old friend and comrade, Modius Aequus, had come as his successor, Philip wrote to the latter, relating his recent experiences and requesting him to forward to the king and queen the letters which he had previously transmitted.[b] Modius, delighted at receiving an epistle which assured him of Philip's escape, dispatched the letters to their majesties, who were then in the neighbourhood of Berytus.[c] King Agrippa, on learning that the current rumour concerning Philip was false—it was commonly said that he had taken command of the Jews for the war with the Romans—sent a body of horse to escort him to Berytus. On his arrival, he gave him a warm greeting and presented him to the Roman officers as the identical Philip about whom reports were circulating that he had revolted from Rome. He then instructed him to lose no time in returning with a body of cavalry to the fortress of Gamala, to bring all his friends out of that place, and to reinstate the Babylonians in Batanaea[d]; charging him at the same time to take every precaution to prevent insurrection on the part of his subjects. These royal commands Philip hastened to execute.

Philip ben-Jacimus joins Agrippa.

(37) [Not long after this][e] Josephus, the midwife's son, induced a number of adventurous youths to join him, and, assaulting the magistrates[f] of Gamala,

Gamala revolts from Agrippa.

[a] This digression gives the sequel to the history narrated in §§ 46-61 above.

[b] *Cf.* § 48.

[c] Beirūt.

[d] On the origin of the colony of Babylonian Jews in Batanaea see note on § 54 above.

[e] There is no note of time in the Greek; the sequence of events may be inferred from § 177.

[f] "Head-men."

ἔπειθεν αὐτοὺς ἀφίστασθαι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ
ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὅπλα, ὡς διὰ τούτων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν
ἀποληψομένους. καὶ τινὰς μὲν ἐβιάσαντο, τοὺς
δὲ μὴ συναρεσκομένους αὐτῶν ταῖς γνώμαις
186 ἀνῄρουν. κτείνουσι δὲ καὶ Χάρητα, καὶ μετ'
αὐτοῦ τινα τῶν συγγενῶν Ἰησοῦν καὶ Ἰούστου δὲ
τοῦ Τιβεριέως ἀδελφὸν[1] ἀνεῖλον, καθὼς ἤδη προ-
είπομεν. γράφουσι δὲ καὶ πρός με παρακαλοῦντες
πέμψαι καὶ δύναμιν αὐτοῖς ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀνα-
στήσοντας αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει τείχη. κἀγὼ πρὸς
187 οὐδέτερον ἀντεῖπον ὧν ἠξίωσαν. ἀφίσταται δὲ
τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἡ Γαυλανῖτις χώρα μέχρι κώμης
Σολύμης. Σελευκείᾳ δὲ καὶ Σωγάνῃ φύσει κώμαις
ὀχυρωτάταις ᾠκοδόμησα τείχη, τάς τε κατὰ τὴν
ἄνω Γαλιλαίαν κώμας, καὶ πάνυ πετρώδεις οὔσας,
188 ἐτείχισα παραπλησίως· ὀνόματα δ' αὐταῖς Ἰάμνια
Ἀμηρὼθ Ἀχαράβη. ὠχύρωσα δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ
κάτω Γαλιλαίᾳ, πόλεις μὲν Ταριχέας Τιβεριάδα
Σέπφωριν, κώμας δὲ Ἀρβήλων σπήλαιον, Βηρ-
σουβαὶ Σελαμὴν Ἰωτάπατα Καφαρὰθ †Κωμὸς
Σωγαναὶ Παφὰ† καὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος. εἰς
ταύτας καὶ σῖτον ἀπεθέμην πολὺν καὶ ὅπλα πρὸς
ἀσφάλειαν τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα.

189 (38) Ἰωάννῃ δὲ τῷ τοῦ Ληουεὶ τὸ κατ' ἐμοῦ
μῖσος προσηύξετο βαρέως φέροντι τὴν ἐμὴν εὐ-
πραγίαν. προθέμενος οὖν πάντως ἐκποδών με ποιή-
σασθαι τῇ μὲν αὐτοῦ πατρίδι τοῖς Γισχάλοις κατα-
190 σκευάζει τείχη, τὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ Σίμωνα καὶ τὸν
τοῦ Σισέννα Ἰωνάθην <μεθ'>[2] ὁπλιτῶν περὶ
ἑκατὸν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πέμπει πρὸς τὸν τοῦ

[1] Most MSS. read ἀδελφήν.
[2] Inserted by Niese.

brought pressure to bear on them to revolt from the king and take up arms, with the prospect of thereby regaining their independence. Some they forced into compliance; those who declined to acquiesce in their views they put to death. Among others, as already mentioned, they slew Chares and one of his kinsmen, Jesus, and the brother of Justus of Tiberias.[a] To me they wrote, asking me to send them troops and workmen to repair the town walls; neither of these requests did I refuse. The region of Gaulanitis, as far as the village of Solyma, likewise revolted from the king. I erected walls at Seleucia and Sogane, villages with very strong natural defences, and provided similar protection for certain villages in Upper Galilee, also in very rugged surroundings, named Jamnia, Ameroth,[b] and Acharabe. In Lower Galilee I fortified the cities of Tarichaeae, Tiberias, and Sepphoris, and the villages of the Cave of Arbela, Beersubae, Selame, Jotapata, Kapharath, †Kōmus, Soganae, Papha [c]† and Mount Tabor. These places I stocked with ample supplies of corn and arms for their future security.

Josephus fortifies Galilee.

(38) Meanwhile, the hatred borne me by John, son of Levi, who was aggrieved at my success, was growing more intense, and he determined at all costs to have me removed. Accordingly, after fortifying his native town of Gischala, he dispatched his brother Simon and Jonathan, son of Sisenna, with about a hundred armed men, to Jerusalem, to Simon, son of

Attempt of John of Gischala to have Josephus superseded.

[a] There is some confusion here. In §§ 177 f. only two persons are named: Chares, kinsman of Philip, and Jesus, brother of Chares and brother-in-law of Justus.

[b] Or Meroth (*cf. B.* ii. 573).

[c] Text corrupt (*cf. B. ibid.*).

Γαμαλιήλου Σίμωνα, παρακαλέσοντας αὐτὸν πεῖσαι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφελομένους ἐμὲ τῶν Γαλιλαίων αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι τὴν
191 ἐξουσίαν τούτων. ὁ δὲ Σίμων οὗτος ἦν πόλεως μὲν Ἱεροσολύμων, γένους δὲ σφόδρα λαμπροῦ, τῆς δὲ Φαρισαίων αἱρέσεως, οἳ περὶ τὰ πάτρια νόμιμα δοκοῦσιν τῶν ἄλλων ἀκριβείᾳ διαφέρειν.
192 ἦν δ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ πλήρης συνέσεως καὶ λογισμοῦ δυνάμενός τε πράγματα κακῶς κείμενα φρονήσει τῇ ἑαυτοῦ διορθώσασθαι, φίλος τε παλαιὸς τῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ συνήθης, πρὸς ἐμὲ δὲ τότε διαφόρως
193 εἶχεν. δεξάμενος οὖν τὴν παράκλησιν ἔπειθεν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς Ἄνανον καὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Γαμαλᾶ τινάς τε τῶν τῆς αὐτῆς στάσεως ἐκείνοις[1] ἐκκόπτειν με φυόμενον καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν ἐπὶ μήκιστον αὐξηθέντα δόξης, συνοίσειν αὐτοῖς λέγων εἰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀφαιρεθείην. μὴ μέλλειν δὲ παρεκάλει τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον, μὴ καὶ φθάσας γνῶναι μετὰ
194 πολλῆς ἐπέλθω τῇ πόλει δυνάμεως. ὁ μὲν Σίμων ταῦτα συνεβούλευεν, ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἄνανος οὐ ῥᾴδιον εἶναι τὸ ἔργον ἀπέφαινεν· πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τοῦ πλήθους προεστῶτας μαρτυρεῖν ὅτι καλῶς ἐγὼ στρατηγῶ, ποιεῖσθαι δὲ κατηγορίαν ἀνδρὸς καθ' οὗ μηδὲν λέγειν δύνανται δίκαιον φαύλων ἔργον εἶναι.
195 (39) Σίμων δ' ὡς ἤκουσεν ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ Ἀνάνου, σιωπᾶν μὲν ἐκείνους ἠξίωσεν μηδ' εἰς πολλοὺς ἐκφέρειν τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν· προνοήσεσθαι[2] γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν ἵνα θᾶττον μετασταθείην ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας. προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ

[1] Bekker: τῆς αὐτῶν στάσεως ἐκείνους MSS.
[2] Niese: προνοήσασθαι MSS.

Gamaliel, to entreat him to induce the national assembly of Jerusalem to deprive me of the command of Galilee and to vote for his appointment to the post. This Simon was a native of Jerusalem, of a very illustrious family, and of the sect of the Pharisees, who have the reputation of being unrivalled experts in their country's laws.[a] A man highly gifted with intelligence and judgement, he could by sheer genius retrieve an unfortunate situation in affairs of state. He was John's old and intimate friend, and, at the time, was at variance with me. On receiving this application he exerted himself to persuade the high-priests Ananus and Jesus, son of Gamalas, and some others of their party to clip my sprouting wings and not suffer me to mount to the pinnacle of fame. He observed that my removal from Galilee would be to their advantage, and urged them to act without delay, for fear that I should get wind of their plans and march with a large army upon Jerusalem. Such was Simon's advice. In reply, Ananus, the high-priest, represented the difficulties of the action suggested, in view of the testimonials from many of the chief priests and leaders of the people to my capacity as a general; adding that to accuse a man against whom no just charge could be brought was a dishonourable proceeding.

(39) On hearing this speech of Ananus, Simon implored the embassy to keep to themselves and not divulge what had passed at the conference; asserting that he would see to it that I was speedily superseded in Galilee. Then calling up John's brother

[a] Or "in the rules of their fathers." The νόμιμα are the traditional rules (*Halakoth*, etc.) which grew up round the Law (νόμος).

Ἰωάννου προσέταξεν πέμπειν δωρεὰς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον· τάχα γὰρ οὕτως ἔφη πείσειν αὐτοὺς
196 μεταθέσθαι τὰς γνώμας. καὶ τέλος ἔπραξεν ὁ Σίμων ὃ προύθετο· ὁ γὰρ Ἄνανος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τοῖς χρήμασιν διαφθαρέντες συντίθενται τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐκβαλεῖν με, μηδενὸς ἄλλου τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τοῦτο γινώσκοντος. καὶ δὴ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πέμπειν ἄνδρας κατὰ γένος μὲν διαφέροντας, τῇ
197 παιδείᾳ δ' ὁμοίους. ἦσαν δ' αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν δημοτικοὶ δύο, Ἰωνάθης καὶ Ἀνανίας, Φαρισαῖοι τὴν αἵρεσιν, ὁ δὲ τρίτος Ἰώζαρος[1] ἱερατικοῦ γένους, Φαρισαῖος καὶ αὐτός, Σίμων δ' ἐξ ἀρχιερέων νεώτατος
198 ἐκείνων. τούτους ἐκέλευον ἀφικομένους εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Γαλιλαίων πυθέσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἐμὲ φιλοῦσιν· εἰ δὲ φαῖεν ὅτι πόλεως εἴην τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνων λέγειν ὑπάρχειν τοὺς τέσσαρας, εἰ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν νόμων, μηδ' αὐτοὺς ἀγνοεῖν ἔθη τὰ πάτρια φάσκειν, εἰ δ' αὖ διὰ τὴν ἱερωσύνην λέγοιεν ἀγαπᾶν με, καὶ αὐτῶν ἀποκρίνεσθαι δύο ἱερεῖς ὑπάρχειν.

199 (40) Ταῦθ' ὑποθέμενοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἀργυρίου διδόασιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ
200 τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων. ἐπεὶ δέ τινα Γαλιλαῖον ἤκουσαν, Ἰησοῦν ὄνομα, περὶ αὐτὸν τάξιν ἑξακοσίων ὁπλιτῶν ἔχειν, ἐπιδημοῦντα τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις τότε, μεταπεμψάμενοι τοῦτον καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν μισθὸν δόντες ἐκέλευον ἕπεσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην πειθαρχοῦντα αὐτοῖς, καὶ τῶν

[1] So (or Ἰωάζαρος) § 324 etc.: the mss. here have Γόζορος (Γόζαρος).

he instructed him to send presents to Ananus and his friends, as a likely method of inducing them to change their minds. Indeed Simon eventually achieved his purpose [a]; for, as the result of bribery, Ananus and his party agreed to expel me from Galilee, while every one else in the city remained ignorant of the plot. The scheme agreed upon was to send a deputation comprising persons of different classes of society but of equal standing in education. Two of them, Jonathan and Ananias, were from the lower ranks and adherents of the Pharisees; the third, Jozar, also a Pharisee, came of a priestly family; the youngest, Simon, was descended from high priests. Their instructions were to approach the Galilaeans and ascertain the reason for their devotion to me. If they attributed it to my being a native of Jerusalem, they were to reply that so were all four of them; if to my expert knowledge of their laws, they should retort that neither were they ignorant of the customs of their fathers; if, again, they asserted that their affection was due to my priestly office, they should answer that two of them were likewise priests.

The plot succeeds.

The deputation from Jerusalem.

(40) After thus prompting Jonathan and his colleagues, they presented them with forty thousand pieces of silver [b] out of the public funds; and, on hearing that a Galilaean, named Jesus, was staying in Jerusalem, who had with him a company of six hundred men under arms, they sent for him, gave him three months' pay and directed him to accompany the party and obey their orders. They

[a] *Cf.* the shorter account in *B.* ii. 627-9.

[b] If *denarii* are meant, the sum would be about £1200. Perhaps a smaller silver coin is intended.

πολιτῶν δὲ τριακοσίοις ἀνδράσιν δόντες ἀργύριον εἰς τροφὴν τῶν ὅλων προσέταξαν ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς
201 πρέσβεσιν. πεισθέντων οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον εὐτρεπισθέντων ἐξῄεσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην σὺν τούτοις, ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν
202 τοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ ὁπλίτας ἑκατόν, λαβόντες ἐντολὰς παρὰ τῶν πεμψάντων, εἰ μὲν ἑκὼν καταθείμην τὰ ὅπλα, ζῶντα πέμπειν εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν, εἰ δ᾽ ἀντιτασσοίμην, ἀποκτεῖναι μηδὲν δεδιότας·
203 αὐτῶν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ πρόσταγμα. ἐγεγράφεισαν δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ πρὸς τὸν κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ πόλεμον ἑτοιμάζεσθαι, τοῖς τε Σέπφωριν καὶ Γάβαρα κατοικοῦσιν καὶ Τιβεριεῦσιν προσέταττον συμμαχίαν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ πέμπειν.

204 (41) Ταῦτά μοι τοῦ πατρὸς γράψαντος, ἐξεῖπε δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Γαμαλᾶ, τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ βουλῇ γενομένων εἷς, φίλος ὢν καὶ συνήθης ἐμοί, σφόδρα περιήλγησα τούς τε πολίτας οὕτως περὶ ἐμὲ γενομένους ἀχαρίστους, ἐπιγνοὺς διὰ φθόνον ἀναιρεθῆναί με προστάξαι, καὶ τῷ τὸν πατέρα διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων πολλά με παρακαλεῖν ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν· ποθεῖν γὰρ ἔφη θεάσασθαι
205 τὸν υἱὸν πρὸ τοῦ τελευτῆσαι. ταῦτα δὴ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπον καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν καταλιπὼν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πορευσοίμην. λύπη δ᾽ ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀκούσαντας[1] κατέσχε, παρεκάλουν τε κλαίοντες μὴ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀπολουμένους εἰ τῆς ἐμῆς στρατηγίας
206 ἀποστερηθεῖεν. οὐ κατανεύοντος δέ μου ταῖς ἱκετείαις αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ φροντίζοντος σωτηρίας, δείσαντες οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι μὴ ἀπελθόντος εὐκαταφρόνητοι τοῖς λῃσταῖς γένοιντο,

further requisitioned three hundred citizens to follow the deputies, providing money for the maintenance of the whole number. The consent of these recruits being obtained and their preparations for the journey completed, the party of Jonathan set out with them; John's brother and a hundred regulars also accompanied them. They had orders, in the event of my volunteering to lay down my arms, to send me alive to Jerusalem, but if I offered any resistance to kill me regardless of consequences, having the weight of their masters' commands behind them. They had also written to John to be prepared for an attack upon me, and were issuing orders to Sepphoris, Gabara, and Tiberias to send assistance to John.

(41) My information reached me in a letter from my father, to whom the news was confided by Jesus, son of Gamalas, an intimate friend of mine, who had been present at the conference. I was deeply distressed, both by the base ingratitude of my fellow-citizens, whose jealousy, as I could see, had prompted the order to put me to death, and also by the earnest request in my father's letter that I would come to him, as he longed to see his son before his death. I told my friends exactly what had happened and of my intention, in three days' time, to quit the district and go home. All who heard me were overcome with grief and besought me, with tears, not to abandon them to the ruin which awaited them if deprived of my leadership. To these entreaties, out of concern for my own safety, I refused to yield; whereupon the Galilaeans, fearing that my withdrawal would leave them an easy prey

Josephus decides to quit Galilee.

[1] κἀκούσοντας P, ἀκούσαντα RA, ἀκούοντας MW.

πέμπουσιν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἅπασαν τοὺς σημανοῦντας τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην περὶ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς.
207 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν συνήχθησαν, ὡς ἤκουσαν, μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων, οὐ πόθῳ, δοκῶ[1] μοι, τῷ πρὸς ἐμὲ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ περὶ αὐτῶν δέει τοῦτο πράττοντες· ἐμοῦ γὰρ παραμένοντος πείσεσθαι κακὸν οὐδὲν ὑπελάμβανον. ἧκον οὖν πάντες εἰς τὸ μέγα πεδίον ἐν ᾧ διέτριβον· Ἀσωχίς ἐστιν ὄνομα αὐτῷ.
208 (42) Διὰ δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης θαυμάσιον οἷον ὄνειρον ἐθεασάμην. ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἰς κοίτην ἐτραπόμην διὰ τὰ γραφέντα λυπούμενος καὶ τεταραγμένος,
209 ἔδοξά τινα λέγειν ἐπιστάντα μοι· "παῦσαι τὴν ψυχήν, ὦ οὗτος, ἀλγῶν, παντὸς δ' ἀπαλλάσσου φόβου· τὰ γὰρ λυποῦντά σε μέγιστον ποιήσει καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν εὐτυχέστατον, κατορθώσεις δ' οὐ μόνον ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα. μὴ κάμνε δή, μέμνησο δ' ὅτι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις δεῖ σε πολεμῆσαι."
210 τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ὄνειρον θεασάμενος διανίσταμαι καταβῆναι προθυμούμενος εἰς τὸ πεδίον. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν ὄψιν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Γαλιλαίων, ἦσαν δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς γυναῖκές τε καὶ παῖδες, ἐπὶ στόμα ῥίψαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ δακρύοντες ἱκέτευον μὴ σφᾶς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, μηδ' ἀπελθεῖν ἐάσαντα τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐνύβρισμα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς
211 ἐσομένην. ὡς δὲ ταῖς δεήσεσιν οὐκ ἔπειθον, κατηνάγκαζον ὅρκοις μένειν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς, ἐλοιδοροῦντό τε τῷ δήμῳ πολλὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ὡς εἰρηνεύεσθαι τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐῶντι.
212 (43) Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ἐπακούων αὐτῶν καὶ βλέπων τοῦ πλήθους τὴν κατήφειαν ἐκλάσθην πρὸς ἔλεον,

[1] δοκεῖ R.

to the brigands, sent messengers throughout Galilee to announce my intended departure. On hearing of this, large numbers assembled from all quarters, with their wives and children, influenced, I imagine, as much by alarm for themselves as by affection for myself; being convinced that while I remained at my post no harm would befall them. All flocked to the great plain, called the plain of Asochis,[a] in which my quarters lay.

Rally of Galilaeans to his support.

(42) That night I beheld a marvellous vision in my dreams. I had retired to my couch, grieved and distraught by the tidings in the letter, when I thought that there stood by me one who said: "Cease, man, from thy sorrow of heart, let go all fear. That which grieves thee now will promote thee to greatness and felicity in all things.[b] Not in these present trials only, but in many besides, will fortune attend thee. Fret not thyself then. Remember that thou must even battle with the Romans." Cheered by this dream-vision I arose, ready to descend into the plain. On my appearance, the whole crowd of Galilaeans, which included women and children, flung themselves on their faces and with tears implored me not to abandon them to their enemies nor, by my departure, leave their country exposed to the insolence of their foes. Finding entreaties unavailing, they sought with adjurations to coerce me to stay with them; bitterly inveighing against the people of Jerusalem for not allowing their country to remain in peace.

His dream.

(43) With these cries in my ears and the sight of the dejected crowd before my eyes, my resolution broke down and I was moved to compassion; I felt

[a] Sahel el Buṭṭauf, running E. and W., in the break in the hills between Jotapata on the north and Nazareth on the south.

[b] Or perhaps "above all men."

ἄξιον εἶναι νομίζων ὑπὲρ τοσούτου πλήθους καὶ προδήλους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν. κατανεύω δὴ μένειν, καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁπλίτας ἥκειν κελεύσας ἔχοντας ἑαυτοῖς τροφὰς ἐπὶ τὰς
213 οἰκήσεις διαφῆκα τοὺς ἄλλους. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πεντακισχίλιοι παρεγένοντο, τούτους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τρισχιλίους τοὺς σὺν ἐμαυτῷ στρατιώτας, ἱππεῖς δ' ὀγδοήκοντα, τὴν πορείαν εἰς Χαβωλὼ κώμην, Πτολεμαΐδος μεθόριον οὖσαν, ἐποιησάμην, κἀκεῖ τὰς δυνάμεις συνεῖχον ἑτοιμάζεσθαι σκηπτόμενος
214 ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Πλάκιδον πόλεμον. ἀφίκετο δ' οὗτος μετὰ δύο σπειρῶν πεζοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ ἱππέων ἴλης μιᾶς ὑπὸ Κεστίου Γάλλου πεμφθείς, ἵν' ἐμπρήσῃ τὰς κώμας τῶν Γαλιλαίων αἳ πλησίον ἦσαν Πτολεμαΐδος. βαλλομένου δ' ἐκείνου χάρακα πρὸ τῆς Πτολεμαέων πόλεως τίθεμαι κἀγὼ στρατόπεδον, τῆς κώμης ὅσον ἑξήκοντα σταδίους ἀποσχών.
215 πολλάκις μὲν οὖν τὰς δυνάμεις προηγάγομεν ὡς εἰς μάχην, πλέον δ' οὐδὲν ἀκροβολισμῶν ἐπράξαμεν· ὁ γὰρ Πλάκιδος ὅσῳπερ ἐγίνωσκεν σπεύδοντά με πρὸς μάχην αὐτὸς καταπληττόμενος ὑπεστέλλετο· τῆς μέντοι Πτολεμαΐδος οὐκ ἐχωρίζετο.

216 (44) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἀφικόμενος Ἰωνάθης μετὰ τῶν συμπρέσβεων, ὧν ἔφαμεν ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Σίμωνα καὶ Ἄνανον τὸν ἀρχιερέα πεπέμφθαι, λαβεῖν <με>[1] δι' ἐνέδρας ἐπεβούλευεν· φανερῶς γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖν οὐκ
217 ἐτόλμα. γράφει δὲ πρός με τοιαύτην ἐπιστολήν· "Ἰωνάθης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν Ἰωσήπῳ χαίρειν. ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πρώτων, ἀκουσάντων τὸν ἀπὸ

[1] ins. *ed. princeps*, om. MSS.

that it was right to face even manifest perils for so vast a multitude. So I consented to remain; and, giving orders that five thousand of them were to join me in arms, bringing their own provisions, I dismissed the rest to their homes. When the five thousand arrived, I set out with them, the three thousand infantry already with me and eighty horse, and marched to Chabolo,[a] a village on the frontiers of Ptolemais, where I kept my forces together, feigning to be making preparations for an engagement with Placidus. The latter had been sent by Cestius Gallus, with two cohorts of infantry and a squadron of horse, to burn the Galilaean villages in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais. While he was entrenching himself in front of that city, I on my side encamped about sixty furlongs from the village of Chabolo. On several occasions we led out our forces, as for battle, but did not proceed beyond skirmishes, because Placidus, in proportion as he saw my eagerness for a combat, became alarmed and declined it. He did not, however, quit his post at Ptolemais.

Josephus consents to remain in Galilee.

(44) At this juncture Jonathan arrived with his fellow-envoys, who, as I said, had been sent from Jerusalem by Simon and Ananus the high-priest. Not venturing to attack me openly, he laid a plot to entrap me, writing me the following letter:

Arrival of the Jerusalem embassy in Galilee: correspondence with Josephus.

"Jonathan and his fellow deputies from Jerusalem to Josephus, greeting. The Jerusalem authorities, having heard that John of Gischala

[a] Cabul (Kābūl), half-way between the Plain of Asochis (§ 207 above) and Ptolemais (Acre).

Γισχάλων Ἰωάννην ἐπιβεβουλευκέναι σοι πολλάκις,
ἐπέμφθημεν ἐπιπλήξοντες αὐτῷ καὶ παραινέσοντες
218 εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ὑπακούειν σοι. βουλεύσασθαι δὲ
σὺν σοὶ θέλοντες περὶ τῶν κοινῇ πρακτέων παρα-
καλοῦμεν ἥκειν θᾶττον πρὸς ἡμᾶς μὴ μετὰ πολλῶν·
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ κώμη δύναιτ᾽ ἂν στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος
219 ἐπιδέξασθαι.'' ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔγραφον προσδοκῶντες
δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ὅτι χωρὶς ὅπλων ἀφικόμενον πρὸς
αὐτοὺς ἕξουσιν ὑποχείριον, ἢ πολλοὺς ἐπαγόμενον
220 κρινοῦσι πολέμιον. ἧκεν δέ μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν
ἱππεὺς κομίζων, θρασὺς ἄλλως νεανίας τῶν παρὰ
βασιλεῖ ποτὲ στρατευσαμένων· ἦν δ᾽ ὥρα νυκτὸς
ἤδη δευτέρα, καθ᾽ ἣν ἐτύγχανον μετὰ τῶν φίλων
καὶ τῶν τῆς Γαλιλαίας πρώτων ἑστιώμενος.
221 οὗτος δή, προσαγγείλαντος οἰκέτου μοι ἥκειν τινὰ
ἱππέα Ἰουδαῖον, εἰσκληθεὶς ἐμοῦ κελεύσαντος
ἠσπάσατο μὲν οὐδ᾽ ὅλως, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δὲ προ-
τείνας, ''ταύτην,'' εἶπεν, ''οἱ ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων
ἥκοντες πεπόμφασί σοι. γράφε δὴ τάχιστα καὶ
σύ· καὶ γὰρ ἐπείγομαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑποστρέφειν.''
222 οἱ μὲν οὖν κατακείμενοι τὴν τοῦ στρατιώτου
τόλμαν ἐθαύμασαν, ἐγὼ δὲ καθέζεσθαι παρεκάλουν
καὶ συνδειπνεῖν ἡμῖν. ἀρνησαμένου δὲ τὴν μὲν
ἐπιστολὴν μετὰ χεῖρας εἶχον ὡς ἐδεξάμην, πρὸς
δὲ τοὺς φίλους περὶ πραγμάτων ἑτέρων τὴν ὁμιλίαν
223 ἐποιούμην. μετ᾽ οὐ πολλὴν δ᾽ ὥραν ἐξαναστὰς καὶ
τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπολύσας ἐπὶ κοίτην, τέσσαρας
δέ μοι μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων φίλων προσμεῖναι
κελεύσας καὶ τῷ παιδὶ προστάξας οἶνον ἑτοιμάσαι,
τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναπτύξας μηδενὸς ἐμβλέποντος κἀξ
αὐτῆς ταχὺ συνεὶς τὴν τῶν γεγραφότων ἐπίνοιαν,
224 πάλιν αὐτὴν ἐσημηνάμην. καὶ ὡς μὴ προανεγνωκώς,

has frequently plotted against you, have commissioned us to reprove him and to admonish him in future to show you proper respect. Wishing to confer with you on a concerted line of action, we request you to come to us with all speed, and with but few attendants, as this village could not accommodate a large military force."

In so writing they expected one of two things to happen: either I would come unprotected and they would have me at their mercy, or, should I bring a large retinue, they would denounce me as a public enemy. The letter was brought to me by a trooper, an insolent young fellow who had formerly served in the king's army. It was the second hour of the night, and I was dining with my friends and the chief men of Galilee. My servant announcing the arrival of a Jewish horseman, this fellow, being called in by my orders, gave me no salute whatever, but reached out the letter and said: "The party who have come from Jerusalem have sent you this. Write your reply immediately, as I am in a hurry to return to them." My guests were astonished at the soldier's audacity; I, for my part, invited him to sit down and join us at supper. He declined. I kept the letter in my hands, as I had received it, and conversed with my friends on other subjects. Not long after I rose and, dismissing the others to their repose, directed four only of my closest friends to stay and ordered my servant to set on wine. Then, when no one was looking, I unfolded the letter, took in at a glance the writers' design and sealed it up again. Holding it in my hands as though I had not

ἀλλὰ μετὰ χεῖρας αὐτὴν ἔχων, προσέταξα τῷ
στρατιώτῃ δραχμὰς εἴκοσι‹ν› ἐφόδιον δοθῆναι.
τοῦ δὲ λαβόντος καὶ χάριν ἔχειν φήσαντος συνεὶς
τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ταύτῃ μάλιστά
ἐστιν ἁλώσιμος, "ἀλλ' εἰ συμπιεῖν ἡμῖν," ἔφην,
"θελήσειας, λήψει κατὰ κύαθον δραχμὴν μίαν."
225 ὁ δ' ἄσμενος ὑπήκουσεν, καὶ πολὺν τὸν οἶνον
προσφερόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλέον λαβεῖν τὸ ἀργύριον
καὶ μεθυσθεὶς οὐκέτι τὰ ἀπόρρητα στέγειν ἐδύνατο,
ἀλλ' ἔφραζεν οὐκ ἐρωτώμενος τήν τε συνεσκευα-
σμένην ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ ὡς κατεψηφισμένος εἴην
θάνατον παρ' αὐτοῖς. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ἀντιγράφω
226 τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· "Ἰώσηπος Ἰωνάθῃ καὶ τοῖς
σὺν αὐτῷ χαίρειν. ἐρρωμένους ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν
Γαλιλαίαν ἥκειν πυθόμενος ἥδομαι, μάλιστα δ'
ὅτι δυνήσομαι παραδοὺς ὑμῖν τὴν τῶν ἐνθάδε
πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πορευ-
227 θῆναι· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ πάλαι ποιεῖν ἤθελον. ἔδει
μὲν οὖν μὴ μόνον εἰς Ξαλὼθ παραγενέσθαι με πρὸς
ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ πόρρω καὶ μηδὲ κελευσάντων, συγ-
γνώμης δὲ τυχεῖν ἀξιῶ μὴ δυνάμενος τοῦτο
ποιῆσαι, παραφυλάσσων[1] ἐν Χαβωλὼ Πλάκιδον εἰς
τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀναβῆναι δι' ἐννοίας ἔχοντα. ἥκετε
οὖν ὑμεῖς πρός με τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνόντες.
ἔρρωσθε."
228 (45) Ταῦτα γράψας δοὺς τῷ στρατιώτῃ φέρειν
συνεξέπεμψα τριάκοντα τῶν Γαλιλαίων δοκιμω-
τάτους, ὑποθέμενος αὐτοῖς ἀσπάσασθαι μὲν ἐκεί-
νους, ἕτερον δὲ μηδὲν λέγειν. ἔταξα δὲ καὶ καθ'

[1] Niese: παραφυλάσω *sic* P, παραφυλάσσω γὰρ the rest.

[a] The standard silver coin, roughly a franc.

yet read it, I ordered twenty drachmas to be presented to the soldier for travelling expenses. He accepted the money and thanked me for it. Noting his cupidity as offering the surest means of gulling him, I said, "If you will consent to drink with us, you shall receive a drachma [a] for every cup." He readily assented and, in order to win more money, indulged so freely in the wine that he became intoxicated and unable to keep his secrets any longer to himself. He told me, without being asked, of the plot that had been hatched and how I had been sentenced to death by his employers. On hearing this I wrote the following reply:

> "Josephus to Jonathan and his colleagues, greeting. I am delighted to hear that you have reached Galilee in good health; more especially because I shall now be able to hand over to you the charge of affairs here and return home, as I have long wished to do. I ought certainly to have gone, not merely to Xaloth,[b] but further, to wait upon you, even without your instructions; I must, however, request you to excuse me for my inability to do so, as I am here at Chabolo, keeping watch on Placidus, who is meditating an incursion up country into Galilee. Do you, therefore, on receipt of this letter, come and visit me. Fare you well."

(45) Having written this letter and handed it to the soldier, I sent him off, accompanied by thirty Galilaeans of the highest repute, whom I instructed to pay their respects to the deputies, but to say not a word more. To each of them I attached a soldier

[b] A village in the Great Plain, on the southern frontier of Galilee, elsewhere called Exaloth (*B.* iii. 39).

ἕκαστον αὐτῶν πιστῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἕνα παραφυλάξοντα, μή τις τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὁμιλία γένηται. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπο-
229 ρεύθησαν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην τῆς πρώτης πείρας ἁμαρτόντες ἑτέραν ἐπιστολήν μοι τοιαύτην ἔπεμψαν· "Ἰωνάθης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἰωσήπῳ χαίρειν. παραγγέλλομέν σοι χωρὶς ὁπλιτῶν εἰς τρίτην παραγενέσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰς Γαβαρὼθ κώμην, ἵνα διακούσωμεν τῶν πρὸς Ἰωάννην
230 ἐγκλημάτων σοι γεγονότων." ταῦτα γράψαντες καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι τοὺς Γαλιλαίους οὓς πεπόμφειν[1] ἀφίκοντο εἰς Ἰάφαν κώμην μεγίστην οὖσαν τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, τείχεσιν ὀχυρωτάτην καὶ πολλῶν οἰκητόρων μεστήν. ὑπηντίαζεν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοὺς μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων καὶ κατεβόων κελεύοντες ἀπιέναι καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθοῦ
231 τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. παρηρεθίζοντο δὲ ταῖς φωναῖς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην, καὶ φανεροῦν μὲν τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκ ἐτόλμων, οὐκ ἀξιώσαντες δ' αὐτοὺς ἀποκρίσεως εἰς τὰς ἄλλας κώμας ἐπορεύοντο. ὅμοιαι δ' ὑπήντων αὐτοῖς παρὰ πάντων αἱ καταβοήσεις μεταπείσειν αὐτοὺς βοώντων οὐδένα περὶ τοῦ μὴ
232 στρατηγὸν ἔχειν Ἰώσηπον. ἄπρακτοι δὲ παρὰ τούτων ἀπελθόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς Σέπφωριν μεγίστην τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πόλιν ἀφικνοῦνται· οἱ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ταῖς γνώμαις ἀποβλέποντες ἐκείνοις μὲν ὑπήντων, ἐμὲ δὲ οὔτ' ἐπῄνουν οὔτ' ἐβλασφήμουν.
233 παρὰ δὲ Σεπφωριτῶν εἰς Ἀσωχὶν καταβάντες,[2] οἱ ἐντεῦθεν παραπλησίως τοῖς Ἰαφηνοῖς κατεβόων

[1] Niese: πεπόμφασιν MSS., πέπομφα *ed. pr.*
[2] καταβάντων should perhaps be read.

whom I could trust, to watch them and see that no conversation took place between my emissaries and the other party; and so they set off. Foiled in their first attempt, Jonathan and his friends sent me another letter as follows:

"Jonathan and his colleagues to Josephus, greeting. We charge you in three days' time to join us, without military escort, at the village of Gabaroth,[a] that we may give a hearing to your accusations against John."

Having written this letter and taken leave of the Galilaeans whom I had sent, they went on to Japha,[b] the largest village in Galilee, very strongly fortified and containing a dense population. There they were met by a crowd, including women and children, who in abusive language bade them be off and not grudge them their excellent general. Irritated though they were by these outcries, Jonathan and his colleagues did not dare to show their displeasure, and, not deigning to reply, proceeded to the other villages on their route. But on all sides they were met by similar denunciations, the people loudly protesting that none should induce them to alter their determination to have Josephus for their general. Unsuccessful in the villages the delegates withdrew to Sepphoris, the largest city in Galilee. Here the inhabitants, who inclined to the side of the Romans, went to meet them; refraining, however, from either praise or censure of myself. From Sepphoris they descended to Asochis, which gave them a noisy reception similar to that which had greeted them at

Popular demonstrations in favour of Josephus.

[a] Elsewhere called Gabara; some six miles N.E. of Josephus's quarters at Cabul.

[b] Doubtless Japhia (*Yāfā*), a few miles S.W. of Nazareth.

αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκέτι κατασχόντες κε-
λεύουσιν τοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν ὁπλίταις τύπτειν ξύλοις
τοὺς καταβοῶντας. κατὰ Γάβαρα δὲ γενομένους
ὑπαντιάζει μετὰ τρισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν ὁ Ἰωάννης.
234 ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἤδη συνεικὼς ὅτι διεγνώ-
κασι πρός με πολεμεῖν, ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ Χαβωλὼν
μετὰ τρισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν, καταλιπὼν ἐν τῷ
στρατοπέδῳ τὸν πιστότατον τῶν φίλων, εἰς Ἰω-
τάπατα παρεγενόμην, πλησίον αὐτῶν εἶναι βου-
λόμενος [ὅσον] ἀπὸ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, καὶ
235 γράφω πρὸς αὐτοὺς τάδε· "εἰ πάντως με πρὸς
ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν βούλεσθε, διακόσιαι καὶ τέσσαρες κατὰ
τὴν Γαλιλαίαν εἰσὶν πόλεις καὶ κῶμαι. τούτων
εἰς ἣν θελήσετε παραγενήσομαι χωρὶς Γαβάρων
καὶ Γισχάλων· ἡ μὲν γὰρ πατρίς ἐστιν Ἰωάννου,
ἡ δὲ σύμμαχος αὐτῷ καὶ φίλη."
236 (46) Ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα λαβόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν
Ἰωνάθην οὐκέτι μὲν ἀντιγράφουσιν, συνέδριον δὲ
τῶν φίλων καθίσαντες καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην παρα-
λαβόντες ἐβουλεύοντο τίνα τρόπον ἐπιχειρήσωσί μοι.
237 καὶ Ἰωάννῃ μὲν ἐδόκει γράφειν πρὸς πάσας τὰς ἐν
τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πόλεις καὶ κώμας, εἶναι γὰρ ἐν ἑκάστῃ
πάντως ἕνα γοῦν καὶ δεύτερον διάφορον ἐμοί, καὶ
καλεῖν τούτους ὡς ἐπὶ πολέμιον. ἐκέλευέ τε[1]
πέμπειν τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν
πόλιν, ἵνα κἀκεῖνοι γνόντες ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλιλαίων
κεκρίσθαι με πολέμιον καὶ αὐτοὶ ψηφίσωνται·
γενομένου γὰρ τούτου καὶ τοὺς εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντάς
μοι Γαλιλαίους ἐγκαταλείψειν ἔφη φοβηθέντας.
238 ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντος Ἰωάννου σφόδρα καὶ τοῖς
239 ἄλλοις ἤρεσεν τὰ λεχθέντα. περὶ δ' ὥραν τῆς

[1] Niese: ἐκελευέτο πέμπειν P, πέμπειν δ' ἐκέλευε the rest.

Japha. Unable longer to restrain their wrath, they ordered their military escort to beat the rioters with cudgels. On their arrival at Gabara they were met by John with three thousand men in arms. Having already understood from their letter that they were determined to attack me, I set out from Chabolo, with a force three thousand strong, leaving my most trusted friend in command of the camp; and, being anxious to be near them, removed to Jotapata, where I was about forty furlongs away. I then wrote to them as follows:

> "If you seriously desire me to come to you, there are two hundred and four cities and villages in Galilee. I will come to whichever of these you may select, Gabara and Gischala excepted; the latter being John's native place and the former in league and alliance with him."

Plots of the embassy and counter-measures of Josephus.

(46) On receipt of this letter Jonathan and his colleagues, abandoning further correspondence, summoned a meeting of their friends, John included, and deliberated how they should proceed against me. John was of opinion that they should write to every city and village in Galilee, in each of which there would certainly be found at least one or two adversaries of mine, and call out these persons as against an enemy. He further recommended that a copy of this resolution should be sent to Jerusalem, in order that the citizens, on learning that I had been declared an enemy by the Galilaeans, might be induced to pass a similar vote. In that event, he added, even my Galilaean partisans would abandon me in alarm. John's advice was highly approved by the rest of the council. About the third hour of the

νυκτὸς τρίτην εἰς γνῶσιν ἧκέ μοι ταῦτα, Σακχαίου
τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς τινὸς αὐτομολήσαντος πρός με καὶ
τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτῶν ἀπαγγείλαντος· οὐκέτι δὴ
240 δεῖν ὑπερτίθεσθαι τὸν καιρόν. ἄξιον δὲ κρίνας
Ἰάκωβον ὁπλίτην τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ πιστὸν[1] κελεύω
διακοσίους ὁπλίτας λαβόντα φρουρεῖν τὰς ἀπὸ
Γαβάρων εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐξόδους, καὶ τοὺς
παριόντας συλλαμβάνοντα πρὸς ἐμὲ πέμπειν, μά-
λιστα δὲ τοὺς μετὰ γραμμάτων ἁλισκομένους.
241 Ἱερεμίαν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν φίλων μου μεθ᾽
ἑξακοσίων ὁπλιτῶν εἰς τὴν μεθόριον τῆς Γαλιλαίας
ἔπεμψα τὰς ἀπὸ ταύτης εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν
πόλιν ὁδοὺς παραφυλάξοντα, πρόσταγμα δοὺς
κἀκείνῳ τοὺς μετ᾽ ἐπιστολῶν ὁδεύοντας συλλαμ-
βάνειν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν δεσμοῖς ἐπὶ τόπου
φυλάττειν, τὰ δὲ γράμματα πρὸς ἐμὲ διαπέμπειν.
242 (47) Ταῦτα τοῖς πεμπομένοις ἐντειλάμενος Γαλι-
λαίοις διήγγειλα κελεύων εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀνα-
λαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν τροφὴν εἰς
Γαβαρὼθ κώμην παραγενέσθαι πρός με. τῶν δὲ
περὶ ἐμὲ ὁπλιτῶν μοίρας τέτταρας νείμας τοὺς
πιστοτάτους αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος φυλακὴν
ἔταξα, ταξιάρχους αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας καὶ φροντίζειν
κελεύσας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα στρατιώτην ἄγνωστον
243 αὐτοῖς συναναμίγνυσθαι. τῇ δ᾽ ἐπιούσῃ περὶ
πέμπτην ὥραν ἐν Γαβαρὼθ γενόμενος εὑρίσκω
πᾶν τὸ πεδίον τὸ πρὸ τῆς κώμης ὁπλιτῶν πλῆρες
τῶν ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν παρόντων,
ὡς αὐτοῖς παρηγγέλκειν· πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἐκ
244 τῶν κωμῶν ὄχλος συνέτρεχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταστὰς
εἰς αὐτοὺς λέγειν ἠρξάμην, ἐβόων ἅπαντες εὐ-
εργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν καλοῦντες.

night news of these proceedings was brought to me by Sacchaeus, one of their party who deserted and reported their design to me, adding that there was no time to be lost. So, selecting James, a faithful soldier of my bodyguard, as a fit person, I ordered him to take two hundred men and guard the routes leading from Gabara into Galilee, and to arrest all who passed, especially any caught with letters upon them, and to send them to me. I also dispatched Jeremiah, another of my friends, with six hundred men to the frontier of Galilee, to watch the roads leading from the province to Jerusalem, with similar orders to arrest all found travelling with dispatches; such persons were to be kept in chains on the spot, the letters he was to forward to me.

Josephus meets the embassy at Gabaroth. Fresh demonstrations in his favour.

(47) Having given these orders, I sent directions to the Galilaeans to join me on the following day at the village of Gabaroth, with their arms and three days' provisions. I then divided my troops into four companies, formed a bodyguard for myself of those whom I most trusted, and appointed officers to take command, charging them to see that no soldier who was unknown to them mixed with their men. Reaching Gabaroth about the fifth hour on the following day, I found the whole plain in front of the village covered with armed men, who, in obedience to my orders, had rallied to my aid from Galilee; while another large crowd was hurrying in from the villages. When I stood up and was beginning to speak, they all greeted me with acclamations, calling me the benefactor and saviour of their country. I thanked

[1] πιστῶν MSS.

κἀγὼ χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ὁμολογήσας συνεβούλευον
πρὸς μηδένα μήτε πολεμεῖν μήτε ἁρπαγῇ μολύνειν
τὰς χεῖρας,[1] ἀλλὰ σκηνοῦν κατὰ τὸ πεδίον ἀρκου-
μένους τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐφοδίοις· θέλειν γὰρ ἔφασκον
245 τὰς ταραχὰς χωρὶς φόνων καταστέλλειν.[2] συνέβη
δ' αὐθημερὸν εἰς τὰς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κατασταθείσας τῶν
ὁδῶν φυλακὰς τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωνάθου πεμφθέντας
μετὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐμπεσεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες
ἐφυλάχθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων, ὡς παρήγγειλα, τοῖς
δὲ γράμμασιν ἐντυχὼν πλήρεσι βλασφημιῶν καὶ
ψευσμάτων, οὐδενὶ ταῦτα φράσας ὁρμᾶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
διενοούμην.
246 (48) Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην περὶ
τῆς ἐμῆς ἀφίξεως τοὺς ἰδίους πάντας ἀναλαβόντες
καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ὑπεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν Ἰησοῦ οἰκίαν·
βᾶρις δ' ἦν αὕτη μεγάλη καὶ οὐδὲν ἀκροπόλεως
ἀποδέουσα. κρύψαντες οὖν λόχον ὁπλιτῶν ἐν
αὐτῇ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀποκλείσαντες θύρας, μίαν δὲ
ἀνοίξαντες, προσεδόκων ἥκειν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ με πρὸς
247 αὐτοὺς ἀσπασόμενον. καὶ δὴ διδόασιν ἐντολὰς
τοῖς ὁπλίταις, ἐπειδὰν παραγένωμαι, μόνον εἰσ-
ελθεῖν ἐᾶσαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπείρξαντας· οὕτως γὰρ
ᾤοντό με γενήσεσθαι ῥᾳδίως αὐτοῖς ὑποχείριον.
248 ἐψεύσθησαν δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν
προαισθόμενος, ὡς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ παρεγενόμην,
καταλύσας ἄντικρυς αὐτῶν καθεύδειν ἐσκηπτόμην.
249 καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὄντως
ἀναπαύεσθαί με καθυπνωμένον ὥρμησαν κατα-
βάντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον[3] μεταπείθειν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐμοῦ
250 κακῶς στρατηγοῦντος. τἀναντία δὲ αὐτοῖς συν-
έπεσεν· ὀφθέντων γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐγένετο βοὴ παρὰ τῶν
Γαλιλαίων[4] πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐνοίας ἀξία,

them and advised them neither to attack anyone nor to sully their hands with rapine, but to encamp in the plain and be content with their rations, as my desire was to quell these disturbances without bloodshed.

It happened, on that very day, that Jonathan's couriers, carrying dispatches, fell into the hands of my sentries posted to guard the roads. The prisoners were, in accordance with my directions, detained on the spot; the letters I perused and, finding them full of slander and lies, decided, without mentioning a word of them to anyone, to advance to meet my foes.

(48) Jonathan, hearing of my coming, retired, with all his own followers and John, to the mansion of Jesus, which was a great castle, as imposing as a citadel. Here they concealed an armed ambuscade, and, locking all but one of the doors, they waited for me to come, after my journey, and pay my salutations. In fact, they gave orders to the soldiers to admit me only, on my arrival, and to exclude my attendants, hoping thus to have me easily at their mercy. In these expectations they were disappointed; for I, discovering their plot, at the end of my march took up my quarters immediately opposite them and pretended to be asleep. Jonathan and his friends, imagining that I was actually resting and asleep, hastened down to the plain, to create disaffection on the ground of my inefficiency as a general. The result was quite the reverse; for, no sooner had they appeared, than the Galilaeans raised a shout as hearty as their loyalty for me, their

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[1] So R: the rest have χώρας.
[2] So P: the rest have καταστεῖλαι.
[3] πλῆθος MW. [4] Probably τῆς should be inserted.

κατάμεμψίν τε ἐποιοῦντο τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην,
ὅτι πάρεισιν οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοὶ κακὸν προπεπονθότες,
ἀνατρέψοντες δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων πράγματα. καὶ παρ-
εκελεύοντο ἀπιέναι· μὴ γὰρ ἄν ποτε μεταπεισθῆναι
251 προστάτην ἕτερον ἀντ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν. τούτων ἀπ-
αγγελθέντων μοι προελθεῖν εἰς μέσους οὐκ ὤκνησα.
κατέβαινον οὖν εὐθέως ὡς αὐτούς,[1] τί λέγουσιν οἱ
περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀκουσόμενος. προελθόντος δέ
μου κρότος παρὰ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους εὐθὺς ἦν καὶ
μετ' εὐφημιῶν ἐπιβοήσεις χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογούντων
τῇ ἐμῇ στρατηγίᾳ.

252 (49) Ταῦτα δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀκούοντες
ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ καὶ κινδυνεύσωσιν ἀποθανεῖν, ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς ὁρμησάντων τῶν Γαλιλαίων κατὰ τὴν πρὸς
ἐμὲ χάριν. δρασμὸν οὖν ἐπενόουν· μὴ δυνηθέντες
δὲ ἀπελθεῖν, προσμεῖναι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἠξίωσα, κατ-
253 ηφεῖς †ὑπέμειναν ἐνστησάμενοι†[2] τῷ λόγῳ. προσ-
τάξας οὖν τῷ μὲν πλήθει τὰς εὐφημίας κατασχεῖν,
καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους ταῖς ὁδοῖς
ἐπιστήσας ὑπὲρ τοῦ φρουρεῖν μὴ ἀπροσδοκήτως
ἡμῖν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐπιπέσῃ, παραινέσας δὲ καὶ τοῖς
Γαλιλαίοις ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὅπλα, μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον
τῶν πολεμίων, ἐὰν γένηταί τις αἰφνίδιος, ταρα-
254 χθῶσιν, πρῶτον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοὺς περὶ τὸν
Ἰωνάθην ὑπεμίμνησκον, ὃν τρόπον γράψειαν ὑπὸ
τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πεπέμφθαι δια-
λύσοντές μου τὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην φιλονεικίας, ὡς
255 παρακαλέσειάν τέ με πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ
ταῦτα διεξιὼν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν εἰς μέσους προύτεινον,
ἵνα μηδὲν ἀρνήσασθαι δυνηθῶσιν ἐλεγχόντων αὐτοὺς
256 τῶν γραμμάτων. "καὶ μήν," ἔφην, "Ἰωνάθη

[1] ὡς αὐτοὺς R: the rest αὐτὸς, "to hear with my own ears."

general, and reproached Jonathan's party for coming, unprovoked, upon the scene to throw the province into disorder. They bade them be off, declaring their fixed determination never to receive another governor in my place. Informed of these proceedings I no longer hesitated to show myself, but instantly went down to them to hear what Jonathan was saying. My appearance was the signal for universal applause, and I was hailed with encomiums and expressions of gratitude for my services as commander.

(49) Jonathan and his friends, on hearing these demonstrations, fearing that the Galilaeans, out of devotion to me, might make a rush upon them, became alarmed for their lives. They accordingly meditated flight; but on my requiring them to stay, were unable to escape and stood there shamefacedly while I spoke. After bidding the people restrain their applause, I posted the most trusted of my soldiers on the roads to secure us against any surprise attack from John, and advised the Galilaeans to pick up their arms, in order to avoid confusion in the event of a sudden assault of the enemy. I then began by reminding Jonathan and his colleagues of their letter, how they had written that they had been commissioned by the general assembly at Jerusalem to settle my quarrels with John and how they had desired me to visit them. While relating these facts I held out the letter for all to see, to prevent any possibility of denial, the document being there to convict them. "Moreover, Jonathan and

Josephus addresses the embassy

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[2] The text is corrupt. That printed above follows cod. R, which alone supplies the finite verb.

ὑμεῖς τε οἱ συμπρέσβεις, εἰ πρὸς Ἰωάννην κρινόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ παραστῆσαι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ βίον δύο τινὰς ἢ τρεῖς μάρτυρας καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ἤγαγον, δῆλον ὡς ἀνάγκην ἂν εἴχετε προεξετάσαντες καὶ τοὺς τούτων βίους ἀπαλλάξαι με τῶν ἐγκλημάτων.
257 ἵν' οὖν γνῶτε καλῶς πεπρᾶχθαί μοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, τρεῖς μὲν μάρτυρας ὀλίγους εἶναι νομίζω τῷ καλῶς βεβιωκότι, τούτους δὲ πάντας ὑμῖν δί-
258 δωμι. παρὰ τούτων οὖν πύθεσθε τίνα τρόπον ἐβίωσα, εἰ μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐνθάδε πεπολίτευμαι. καὶ δὴ ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς, ὦ Γαλιλαῖοι, μηδὲν ἐπικρύψασθαι τῆς ἀληθείας, λέγειν δ' ἐπὶ τούτων ὡς δικαστῶν εἴ τι μὴ καλῶς πέπρακται."

259 (50) Ταῦτ' ἔτι λέγοντος κοιναὶ παρὰ πάντων ἐγίνοντο φωναὶ καλούντων εὐεργέτην με καὶ σωτῆρα, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐμαρτύρουν, περὶ δὲ τῶν πραχθησομένων παρεκάλουν· πάντες δ' ὤμνυον ἀνυβρίστους μὲν ἔχειν τὰς γυναῖκας, λελυπῆσθαι δὲ μηδέποτε μηδὲν ὑπ'
260 ἐμοῦ. μετὰ τοῦτο δύο τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἃς οἱ κατασταθέντες ὑπ' ἐμοῦ φρουροὶ πεμφθείσας ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἑλόντες ἀπεστάλκεσαν πρὸς ἐμέ, παρανεγίνωσκον τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις, πολλῶν βλασφημιῶν πλήρεις καὶ καταψευδομένας ὅτι τυραννίδι μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγίᾳ χρῶμαι κατ' αὐτῶν·
261 ἕτερά τε πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐνεγέγραπτο μηδὲν παραλιπόντων ἀναισχύντου ψευδολογίας. ἔφην δ' ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τὰ γράμματα λαβεῖν δόντων ἑκουσίως τῶν κομιζόντων· οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλόμην [αὐτοὺς][1] τὰ περὶ τὰς φρουρὰς τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰδέναι, μὴ δείσαντες τοῦ γράφειν ἀποστῶσιν.

[1] Bekker omits.

you, his colleagues," I proceeded, "had my case against John been tried and had I produced some two or three excellent men as witnesses to my behaviour, it is evident that you would have been compelled, after inquiries into their character, to acquit me of the charges brought against me. Now, in order to convince you of the propriety of my conduct in Galilee, I consider three witnesses too few for one who has lived an honourable life, and I present you with all these here present. Ask *them* what my life has been, and whether in my official capacity here I have acted with perfect dignity, perfect integrity. And you, Galilaeans, I adjure to conceal nothing of the truth, but to declare in the presence of these men, as before judges in court, whether I have done anything amiss."

(50) Before I had finished speaking, there was a chorus of voices from all sides calling me benefactor and saviour. They bore testimony to my past conduct and exhorted me upon my course in future; and they all swore that the honour of their womenfolk had been preserved and that they had never received a single injury from me. I then read aloud to the Galilaeans two of the letters dispatched by Jonathan, which had been intercepted and forwarded to me by the scouts whom I had picketed on the roads. These were full of abuse and maligned me as acting the part of a tyrant rather than a general, with much else beside, including every variety of shameless falsehood. I told the people that these dispatches had been voluntarily surrendered to me by the bearers, because I did not wish my opponents to know of the scouts' share in the matter, lest they should be deterred from writing again.

262 (51) Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκοῦσαν τὸ πλῆθος σφόδρα παρ-
οξυνθὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὥρμα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ
συμπαρόντας ὡς διαφθεροῦντες· κἂν ἐπεπράχεισαν
τὸ ἔργον, εἰ μὴ τοὺς μὲν Γαλιλαίους ἔπαυσα τῆς
ὀργῆς, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην δ᾽ ἔφην συγγινώσκειν
τῶν ἤδη πεπραγμένων, εἰ μέλλοιεν μετανοήσειν καὶ
πορευθέντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα λέγοιεν τοῖς πέμψασι
263 τἀληθῆ περὶ τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων. ταῦτ᾽
εἰπὼν ἀπέλυον αὐτοὺς καίτοι γινώσκων ὅτι μηδὲν
ὧν ὑπέσχηντο ποιήσουσιν. τὸ πλῆθος δ᾽ εἰς ὀργὴν
ἐξεκαίετο κατ᾽ αὐτῶν κἀμὲ παρεκάλουν ἐπιτρέπειν
αὐτοῖς τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμήσαντας.
264 παντοῖος μὲν οὖν ἐγινόμην πείθων αὐτοὺς φείσασθαι
τῶν ἀνδρῶν· πᾶσαν γὰρ ᾔδειν στάσιν ὀλέθριον
οὖσαν τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἔσχεν
τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ὀργὴν ἀμετάβλητον, καὶ πάντες
ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ᾗ κατήγοντο οἱ περὶ τὸν
265 Ἰωνάθην. ἐγὼ δὲ συνορῶν τὴν ὁρμὴν οὖσαν αὐτῶν
ἀνεπίσχετον ἀναπηδήσας ἐφ᾽ ἵππον ἐκέλευσα τοῖς
πλήθεσιν πρὸς Σωγάνην κώμην ἕπεσθαι, Γαβάρων
ἀπέχουσαν εἴκοσι στάδια. καὶ τοιούτῳ στρατηγή-
ματι χρησάμενος παρέσχον ἐμαυτῷ τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν
ἐμφυλίου πολέμου κατάρχειν.
266 (52) Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τὰς[1] Σωγανέας ἐγενόμην,
ἐπιστήσας τὸ πλῆθος καὶ παραινέσει χρησάμενος
περὶ τοῦ μὴ πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀν-
ηκέστοις τιμωρίαις ὀξέως φέρεσθαι, κελεύω τοὺς
καθ᾽ ἡλικίαν ἤδη προβεβηκότας καὶ πρώτους παρ᾽
αὐτοῖς ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ὡς πορευσομένους[2] εἰς τὴν
Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν εὐτρεπίζεσθαι, μέμψιν ποιη-

[1] τοὺς Hudson.
[2] Bekker: πορευομένους MSS.

(51) The Galilaeans, on hearing these calumnies, were so much exasperated that they were starting to kill Jonathan and his companions ; and they would have effected their purpose had I not repressed their indignation. To Jonathan and his colleagues I promised pardon for the past on condition that they showed their contrition and returned home and gave a true report of my public life to those who had sent them. With that I let them go, well though I knew that they would fulfil none of their promises. The people, however, burning with rage against them, entreated my permission to punish those who had been guilty of such effrontery. I tried by all means to induce them to spare the men, knowing that party quarrels are invariably fatal to the common weal. Popular feeling was, however, too deep-seated to be affected, and they all rushed towards the house in which Jonathan and his friends had their quarters. Perceiving that their passions were now beyond restraint, I sprang to the saddle, ordering the crowd to follow me to the village of Sogane, twenty furlongs distant from Gabara. By this manœuvre I guarded myself against the imputation of initiating a civil war.

and pardons them conditionally.

Flies to Sogane to avoid responsibility for civil war

(52) On approaching Sogane [a] I called a halt, and advised the people not to let themselves be so impetuously carried away by their passions, especially where the consequences would be fatal.[b] I then directed a hundred of their leading men, well advanced in years, to make ready for a journey to Jerusalem in order to lodge a complaint before the

Josephus sends counter-embassy to Jerusalem.

[a] Most MSS. here have "Soganeae."
[b] Literally, "especially in the case of irremediable punishments," *i.e.* (probably) those which they wished to inflict.

σομένους ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν τὴν χώραν διαστα-
267 σιαζόντων. "καὶ ἐὰν ἐπικλασθῶσιν," ἔφην, "πρὸς
τοὺς λόγους ὑμῶν, παρακαλέσατε τὸ κοινὸν γράψαι
πρὸς ἐμὲ μένειν κελεύοντας ἐπὶ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, τοὺς
268 δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀναχωρεῖν ἐκεῖθεν." ταύτας
αὐτοῖς τὰς ὑποθήκας δούς, ἐναρμοσαμένων τε
ταχέως ἐκείνων, ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ μετὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἐποιησάμην, συμπέμψας ὁπλίτας
269 πεντακοσίους. ἔγραψα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ
φίλοις προνοήσασθαι τοῦ ἀσφαλῆ γενέσθαι τὴν
πορείαν αὐτοῖς· ἤδη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἦν ἡ
Σαμάρεια καὶ πάντως ἔδει τοὺς ταχὺ βουλομένους
ἀπελθεῖν δι' ἐκείνης πορεύεσθαι· τρισὶν γὰρ ἡμέραις
ἀπὸ Γαλιλαίας ἔνεστιν οὕτως εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα
270 καταλῦσαι. συμπαρέπεμψα δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις κἀγὼ
μέχρι τῶν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὅρων, φύλακας ἐπιστήσας
ταῖς ὁδοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ῥᾳδίως τινὰ μαθεῖν ἀπ-
αλλαττομένους. καὶ ταῦτα πράξας ἐν Ἰάφοις τὴν
διατριβὴν ἐποιούμην.

271 (53) Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην διαμαρτόντες τῆς
κατ' ἐμοῦ πράξεως Ἰωάννην ἀπέλυσαν εἰς τὰ
Γίσχαλα, αὐτοὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Τιβεριέων πόλιν πεπό-
ρευντο λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶντες αὐτὴν ὑποχείριον,
ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον
[ἄρχων][1] ἐγεγράφει πρὸς αὐτοὺς πείσειν ἐπαγγελ-
λόμενος τὸ πλῆθος ἐλθόντας ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ
272 αὐτοῖς ἑλέσθαι προστεθῆναι. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ
τοιαύταις ἐλπίσιν ἀπῆλθον, ἀπαγγέλλει δέ μοι
ταῦτα Σίλας διὰ γραμμάτων, ὃν ἔφην τῆς Τιβε-
ριάδος ἐπιμελητὴν καταλελοιπέναι, καὶ σπεύδειν
ἠξίου. κἀγὼ ταχέως ὑπακούσας αὐτῷ καὶ παρα-

people against those who were splitting the country into factions. "If," I continued, "they are affected by what you say, use your influence with the assembly to send written orders directing me to remain in Galilee and Jonathan and his colleagues to withdraw." Having given these instructions, and their arrangements being quickly made, on the third day after the meeting I sent them off, with an escort of five hundred men-at-arms. I further wrote to my friends in Samaria to provide for their safe convoy through that district; for Samaria was now under Roman rule and, for rapid travel, it was essential to take that route, by which Jerusalem may be reached in three days from Galilee. I accompanied the delegates myself as far as the frontier of Galilee, posting scouts on the roads to screen their departure. This task accomplished, I settled at Japha.[a]

Jonathan's embassy incite Tiberias to revolt.

(53) Foiled in their designs upon me, Jonathan and his colleagues, leaving John to return to Gischala, had proceeded to Tiberias, expecting to receive its submission; for Jesus, at that time its chief magistrate, had written to them, promising that he would persuade the inhabitants to welcome them, if they came, and to decide to join their party. On the strength of these expectations they set out. News of these proceedings reached me in a letter from Silas, urging me to lose no time in coming; I had left him, as I have mentioned already,[b] in charge of Tiberias. Responding instantly to his advice I went,

[a] See § 230 with note. [b] § 89.

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[1] om. ἄρχων P.

γενόμενος εις κίνδυνον ἀπωλείας κατέστην ἐξ
273 αἰτίας τοιαύτης. οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην γενόμενοι
παρὰ τοῖς Τιβεριεῦσιν καὶ πολλοὺς πείσαντες
ἀποστῆναί μου διαφόρους ὄντας, ὡς ἤκουσαν τὴν
ἐμὴν παρουσίαν, δείσαντες περὶ ἑαυτῶν ἧκον πρὸς
ἐμέ, καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι μακαρίζειν ἔλεγον οὕτως
περὶ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἀναστραφέντα, συνήδεσθαί τε
274 διὰ τιμῆς ἀγομένῳ· κόσμον γὰρ ἑαυτῶν εἶναι τὴν
ἐμὴν δόξαν ἔφασαν, ὡς ἂν διδασκάλων τέ μου
γενομένων καὶ πολιτῶν ὄντων, δικαιοτέραν τε τῆς
Ἰωάννου τὴν ἐμὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν ὑπάρχειν
ἔλεγον, καὶ σπεύδειν μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπελθεῖν,
περιμένειν δ' ἕως[1] ὑποχείριον τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐμοὶ
275 ποιήσωσιν. καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπώμοσαν τοὺς
φρικωδεστάτους ὅρκους παρ' ἡμῖν, δι' οὓς ἀπιστεῖν
οὐ θεμιτὸν ἡγούμην. καὶ δὴ παρακαλοῦσίν με τὴν
κατάλυσιν ἀλλαχοῦ ποιήσασθαι διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν
ἡμέραν εἶναι σάββατον· ὀχλεῖσθαι δὲ μὴ δεῖν ὑπ'
αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν τῶν Τιβεριέων ἔφασκον.
276 (54) Κἀγὼ μηδὲν ὑπονοήσας ἐς τὰς Ταριχαίας
ἀπῆλθον, καταλιπὼν ὅμως ἐν τῇ πόλει τοὺς πολυ-
πραγμονήσοντας τί περὶ ἡμῶν λέγοιτο. διὰ πάσης
δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀπὸ Ταριχαιῶν εἰς Τιβεριάδα
φερούσης ἐπέστησα πολλούς, ἵνα μοι δι' ἀλλήλων
σημαίνωσιν ἅπερ ἂν παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατα-
277 λειφθέντων πύθωνται. κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν οὖν
ἡμέραν συνάγονται πάντες εἰς τὴν προσευχήν,
μέγιστον οἴκημα καὶ πολὺν ὄχλον ἐπιδέξασθαι
δυνάμενον. εἰσελθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰωνάθης φανερῶς μὲν
περὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως οὐκ ἐτόλμα λέγειν, ἔφη δὲ

[1] δ' ἕως Dind.: δὲ ὡς mss.

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[a] Greek "us."

but at the peril of my life, as will appear from the following circumstances.

Jonathan and his party having, during their stay at Tiberias, induced a number of aggrieved persons to desert me, on hearing of my arrival were alarmed about their own safety, and came and paid me their salutations. They congratulated me on my exemplary conduct of affairs in Galilee and professed to be delighted at the honour in which I was held, remarking that my reputation was a tribute to themselves, as my fellow-citizens to whom I owed my instruction. They added that they had more reason to be on friendly terms with me than with John; and that, though anxious to return home, they were waiting until they had delivered him into my hands. As they corroborated these assertions by the most awe-inspiring oaths known to us, I felt that it would be impious to disbelieve them. They ended by requesting me to take up my quarters elsewhere, as the next day was the sabbath, on which, they professed, they ought not to put the city to inconvenience.

Meeting in the Prayer-house at Tiberias.

(54) Suspecting nothing, I departed for Tarichaeae. I left, however, some of my party in the city to discover what was said about me [a]; and all along the road from Tarichaeae to Tiberias I posted a number of others to pass down the line to me any information obtained from those in the town. The next day there was a general assembly in the Prayer-house,[b] a huge building, capable of accommodating a large crowd. Jonathan, who entered with the rest, while not venturing to speak openly of defection, said that

[b] *Proseuche*, 'oratory,' another name for synagogue; *cf.* Acts xvi. 13, 16; Juv. *Sat.* iii. 296. The distinction sometimes drawn between the two words seems untenable (Schürer).

στρατηγοῦ κρείττονος χρείαν τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν
278 ἔχειν. Ἰησοῦς δ' ὁ ἄρχων οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος ἀναφανδὸν εἶπεν· "ἄμεινόν ἐστιν, ὦ πολῖται, τέσσαρσιν ἡμᾶς ἀνδράσιν ὑπακούειν ἢ ἑνί, καὶ κατὰ γένος λαμπροῖς καὶ κατὰ σύνεσιν οὐκ ἀδόξοις"·
279 ὑπεδείκνυε δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἰωνάθην. ταῦτ' εἰπόντα τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπῄνει παρελθὼν Ἰοῦστος καί τινας ἐκ τοῦ δήμου συνέπειθεν. οὐκ ἠρέσκετο δὲ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πάντως ἂν εἰς στάσιν ἐχώρησαν, εἰ μὴ τὴν σύνοδον διέλυσεν ἐπελθοῦσα ἕκτη ὥρα, καθ' ἣν τοῖς σάββασιν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι νόμιμόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν. καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὑπερθέμενοι τὴν βουλὴν ἀπῄεσαν ἄπρακτοι.

280 Εὐθὺς δέ μοι τούτων ἀπαγγελθέντων πρωῒ διέγνων εἰς τὴν Τιβέριεων πόλιν ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ περὶ [πρώτην][1] ὥραν ἧκον ἀπὸ τῶν Ταριχαιῶν, καταλαμβάνω δὲ συναγόμενον ἤδη τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὴν προσευχήν· ἐφ' ὅ τι δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ σύνοδος οὐκ ἐγίνωσκον οἱ συλλεγόμενοι.
281 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀπροσδοκήτως θεασάμενοί με παρόντα διεταράχθησαν· εἶτ' ἐπινοοῦσιν διαδοῦναι λόγον ὅτι Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς ἐν τῇ μεθορίῳ πόρρω τριάκοντα σταδίων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, κατὰ
282 τόπον λεγόμενον Ὁμόνοιαν, εἰσὶν ἑωραμένοι. καὶ προσαγγελθέντων τούτων ἐξ ὑποβολῆς παρεκάλουν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην μὴ περιιδεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων λεηλατουμένην αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν. ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγον δι' ἐννοίας ἔχοντες ἐμὲ προφάσει τῆς κατεπειγούσης βοηθείας μεταστήσαντες αὐτοὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐχθράν μοι κατασκευάσαι.

[1] πρώτην MW : τὴν the other MSS. : Niese conj. τρίτην.

their city required a better general. Jesus, the magistrate, however, had no such scruple and said bluntly, "Citizens, it is better for us to take our orders from four men than from one, men, too, of illustrious birth and intellectual distinction," indicating Jonathan and his colleagues. Justus next came forward, and, by his approval of the previous speaker, aided in converting some of the people to his views. The majority, however, were not convinced by these speeches, and a riot would inevitably have ensued, had not the arrival of the sixth hour, at which it is our custom on the Sabbath to take our midday meal, broken off the meeting. Jonathan and his friends, accordingly, adjourned the council to the following day and retired without effecting their object.

These proceedings being at once reported to me, I decided to visit Tiberias early on the morrow. Arriving there about the first hour[a] next day, I found the people already assembling in the Prayer-house, although they had no idea why they were being convened. Seriously perturbed by my unexpected appearance, Jonathan and his party conceived the idea of spreading a report that some Roman cavalry had been descried on the frontier, at a place called Homonoia,[b] at a distance of thirty furlongs from the city. A fictitious message arriving to this effect, Jonathan exhorted me not to remain idle while their country was being plundered by the enemy. Their object in this was to get me away, on the pretext of an urgent call for my services, and to alienate the city from me in my absence.

The meeting adjourned: unexpected arrival of Josephus.

[a] *i.e.* 7 A.M.

[b] = "Concord." Probably Umm Jūnieh on the Jordan (the frontier between Galilee and Decapolis), some two miles south of Tarichaeae and seven miles from Tiberias.

283 (55) Ἐγὼ δὲ καίπερ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὸ ἐνθύμημα
ὅμως ὑπήκουσα, μὴ δόξαν παράσχω τοῖς Τιβε-
ριεῦσιν οὐ προνοούμενος αὐτῶν τῆς ἀσφαλείας.
ἐξῆλθον οὖν, καὶ γενόμενος κατὰ τὸν τόπον, ὡς
284 οὐδ᾽ ἴχνος πολεμίων εὗρον, ὑποστρέφω συντόνως
ὁδεύσας, καὶ καταλαμβάνω τήν τε βουλὴν πᾶσαν
συνεληλυθυῖαν καὶ τὸν δημοτικὸν ὄχλον, ποιουμέ-
νους τε πολλὴν κατηγορίαν μου τοὺς περὶ τὸν
Ἰωνάθην, ὡς τοῦ μὲν τὸν πόλεμον ἐπελαφρύνειν
αὐτοῖς ἀμελοῦντος, ἐν τρυφαῖς δὲ διάγοντος.
285 ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντες προύφερον ἐπιστολὰς τέσσαρας
ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ μεθορίᾳ τῆς Γαλιλαίας γεγραμ-
μένας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν ἥκειν παρα-
καλούντων, Ῥωμαίων γὰρ δύναμιν μέλλειν ἱππέων
τε καὶ πεζῶν εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν
λεηλατεῖν, ἐπισπεύδειν τε καὶ μὴ περιοφθῆναι
286 δεομένων. ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Τιβεριεῖς, λέγειν
ἀληθῆ δόξαντες αὐτούς, καταβοήσεις ἐποιοῦντο,
μὴ καθέζεσθαί με δεῖν λέγοντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπελθεῖν
287 ἐπικουρήσοντα τοῖς ὁμοεθνέσιν αὐτῶν. πρὸς ταῦτ᾽
ἐγώ, συνῆκα γὰρ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην,
ὑπακούσεσθαι μὲν ἔφην ἑτοίμως καὶ χωρὶς ἀνα-
βολῆς ὁρμήσειν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπηγγειλάμην,
συνεβούλευον δ᾽ ὅμως, ἐπεὶ τὰ γράμματα κατὰ
τέσσαρας τόπους Ῥωμαίους σημαίνει προσβαλεῖν,
εἰς πέντε μοίρας διελόντας τὴν δύναμιν ἑκάστῃ
τούτων ἐπιστῆσαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τοὺς
288 ἑταίρους αὐτοῦ· πρέπειν γὰρ ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς μὴ
μόνον συμβουλεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρείας ἐπειγούσης
ἡγουμένους βοηθεῖν· ἐγὼ γὰρ πλὴν μιᾶς μοίρας οὐκ
289 ἔφην ἀφηγεῖσθαι δυνατὸς εἶναι. σφόδρα τῷ πλήθει
συνήρεσεν ἡ ᾽μὴ συμβουλία, κἀκείνους οὖν ἠνάγκαζον

(55) Though well aware of their design, I complied, to avoid giving the Tiberians ground for thinking me careless of their safety. I set out, accordingly, but discovering, on reaching the spot, no trace of an enemy, I returned post haste, and found the whole of the council and populace in conclave, and Jonathan and his associates making a violent tirade against me, as one who lived in luxury and neglected to alleviate their share of the burden of the war. In support of these assertions they produced four letters purporting to have been addressed to them by persons on the Galilee frontier, imploring them to come to their aid, as a Roman force of cavalry and infantry was intending in three days' time to ravage their territory, with entreaties to hasten to their relief and not to abandon them to their fate. On hearing these statements, which they believed to be authentic, the Tiberians began loudly to denounce me for sitting there when I ought to have gone to the assistance of their countrymen. Fully alive to Jonathan's designs, I replied that I was quite ready to act on their instructions, and promised to start without delay for the scene of action. At the same time I advised them, as the letters indicated an impending Roman attack on four points, to form their troops into five divisions and to put these severally under the command of Jonathan and his companions. It became brave men (I urged) to give not merely advice but practical assistance by assuming the lead in an emergency; and it was impossible for me to take command of more than a single division. My suggestion was warmly endorsed by the people, who now put compulsion on my opponents also to take

ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξιέναι. τοῖς δ' οὔτι μετρίως συνεχύθησαν αἱ γνῶμαι μὴ κατεργασαμένοις ἃ διενοήθησαν, ἐμοῦ τοῖς ἐπιχειρήμασιν αὐτῶν ἀντιστρατηγήσαντος.

290 (56) Εἷς δέ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἀνανίας τοὔνομα, πονηρὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ κακοῦργος, εἰσηγεῖτο τοῖς πλήθεσι πανδημεὶ νηστείαν εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν τῷ θεῷ προθέσθαι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν ἐκέλευεν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ἀνόπλους παρεῖναι, τῷ θεῷ φανερὸν ποιήσοντας ὅτι μὴ τῆς παρ' ἐκείνου τυγχάνοντες βοηθείας πᾶν ὅπλον ἄχρηστον εἶναι νομίζουσιν.
291 ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγεν οὐ δι' εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαβεῖν ἄνοπλόν με καὶ τοὺς ἐμούς. κἀγὼ δι' ἀνάγκην ὑπήκουον, μὴ δόξω καταφρονεῖν τῆς περὶ
292 τὴν εὐσέβειαν ὑποθήκης. ὡς οὖν ἀνεχωρήσαμεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην γράφουσι τῷ Ἰωάννῃ, πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἕωθεν ἀφικέσθαι κελεύοντες μεθ' ὅσων ἂν στρατιωτῶν δυνηθῇ· λήψεσθαι γὰρ εὐθύς με[1] ὑποχείριον καὶ ποιήσειν ἅπερ[2] ἔχει δι' εὐχῆς. δεξάμενος δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐκεῖνος ὑπ-
293 ακούειν ἔμελλεν. ἐγὼ δὲ τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας δύο τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ σωματοφυλάκων, τοὺς κατ' ἀνδρείαν δοκιμωτάτους καὶ κατὰ πίστιν βεβαίους, κελεύω ξιφίδια κρύψαντας ὑπὸ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐμοὶ συμπροελθεῖν, ἵν' εἰ γένοιτο παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπίθεσις ἀμυνώμεθα. θώρακα δ' ἔλαβον αὐτὸς καὶ μάχαιραν ὑπεζωσάμην ὡς οἷόν τ' ἦν ἀφανέστατα, καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὴν προσευχήν.

294 (57) Τοὺς μὲν οὖν σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντας ἐκκλεῖσαι προσέταξεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἄρχων, αὐτὸς γὰρ ταῖς θύραις ἐφειστήκει, μόνον δ' ἐμὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰσελθεῖν

[1] εὐθύς με R: εὖ ἐμὲ the rest. [2] R: ὅπερ the rest.

the field. The failure of their scheme through this counter-manœuvre on my part caused them no little embarrassment.

A further meeting: plot to seize Josephus.

(56) One of their number, however, a depraved and mischievous man named Ananias, proposed to the assembly that a public fast should be announced, in God's name, for the following day, recommending that they should reassemble at the same place and hour, without arms, in order to attest before God their conviction that without his aid no armour could avail them. This he said, not from motives of piety, but in order to catch me and my friends in this defenceless condition. I felt bound to acquiesce, for fear of being thought contemptuous of a pious suggestion. As soon, therefore, as we had retired to our homes, Jonathan's party wrote instructions to John to come to them next morning with as large a force as he could muster, as he might have me at once at his mercy and do what he chose with me. On receipt of this letter John prepared to act accordingly. For my part, on the following day I ordered two of my bodyguard, of the most approved valour and staunch loyalty, to accompany me, with daggers concealed under their dress, for self-defence in the event of an assault on the part of our foes. I wore a breastplate myself and, with a sword so girt on as to be as little conspicuous as possible, entered the Prayer-house.

(57) Orders having been given by Jesus, the chief magistrate,[a] who kept a watch on the door himself, to exclude all my companions, he allowed only me

[a] § 271; possibly also a "ruler of the synagogue."

295 εἴασεν. ἤδη δ' ἡμῶν τὰ νόμιμα ποιούντων καὶ
πρὸς εὐχὰς τραπομένων ἀναστὰς ὁ Ἰησοῦς περὶ τῶν
ληφθέντων ἐκ τοῦ ἐμπρησμοῦ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς
σκευῶν <καὶ> τοῦ ἀσήμου ἀργυρίου ἐπυνθάνετό μου,
παρὰ τίνι τυγχάνει κείμενα. ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγεν
διατρίβειν τὸν χρόνον βουλόμενος, ἕως ἂν ὁ Ἰωάν-
296 νης παραγένηται. κἀγὼ πάντα Καπέλλαν ἔχειν
ἔφην καὶ τοὺς δέκα πρώτους Τιβεριέων· "ἀνάκρινε
δ' αὐτός,[1]" εἶπον, "οὐ ψεύδομαι." τῶν δὲ παρ' ἑαυ-
τοῖς εἶναι λεγόντων, "οἱ δ' εἴκοσιν," εἶπεν, "χρυσοῖ
οὓς ἔλαβες πωλήσας τινὰ σταθμὸν ἀσήμου, τί
297 γεγόνασιν;" καὶ τούτους ἔφην δεδωκέναι πρέ-
σβεσιν αὐτῶν ἐφόδιον πεμφθεῖσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.
πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην οὐ καλῶς
ἔφασαν πεποιηκέναι με δόντα τοῖς πρέσβεσιν τὸν
298 μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ. παροξυνθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλή-
θους ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐνόησαν γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν
πονηρίαν, συνεὶς ἐγὼ στάσιν μέλλουσαν ἐξάπτεσθαι
καὶ προσεξερεθίσαι μᾶλλον βουλόμενος τὸν δῆμον
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, "ἀλλ' εἴ γε μὴ ὀρθῶς,"
εἶπον, "ἔπραξα δοὺς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῖς
πρέσβεσιν ὑμῶν, παύεσθε χαλεπαίνοντες· ἐγὼ γὰρ
τοὺς εἴκοσι χρυσοῦς αὐτὸς ἀποτίσω."
299 (58) Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην
ἡσύχασαν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἔτι μᾶλλον κατ' αὐτῶν
παρωξύνθη φανερὰν ἔργῳ δεικνυμένων[2] τὴν ἄδικον
300 πρὸς ἐμὲ δυσμένειαν. συνιδὼν δὲ τὴν μεταβολὴν
αὐτῶν Ἰησοῦς τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐκέλευεν ἀναχωρεῖν,
προσμεῖναι δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἠξίωσεν· οὐ γὰρ δύνασθαι

[1] αὐτός R: αὐτούς the rest.
[2] ἔργῳ δεικ. PR: ἐπιδεικνυμένων AMW.

and my [two][a] friends to enter. We were proceeding with the ordinary service and engaged in prayer, when Jesus rose and began to question me about the furniture and uncoined silver which had been confiscated after the conflagration of the royal palace,[b] asking who had the keeping of them. He raised this point merely in order to occupy the time until John's arrival. I replied that they were all in the hands of Capella and the ten head-men of Tiberias. "Ask them yourself;" I said, "I am not lying." On their admitting that the property was in their custody, "Well," continued Jesus, "what has become of the twenty pieces of gold which you realized from the sale of a quantity of bullion?" I answered that I had given these, for travelling expenses, to their deputies who had been sent to Jerusalem; on which Jonathan and his friends remarked that I had acted wrongly in paying the deputies out of public money. This statement exasperated the people, who now detected the malice of these men; and I, seeing a quarrel impending, and anxious still further to excite the general indignation against them, said, "Well, if I did wrong in paying your deputies out of public money, you need have no further cause for resentment; I will pay the twenty pieces of gold myself." Josephus cross-questioned.

(58) This rejoinder silenced Jonathan's party, while the feelings of the people were roused still further against them by this open exhibition of groundless animosity against me. Perceiving their altered mood, Jesus ordered the people to withdraw, requesting the council to remain, as it was impossible He barely escapes with his life

[a] See § 293 (with § 303 below). Jesus apparently excluded the further escort, if any, but allowed the two to pass.

[b] *Cf.* §§ 66-69.

θορυβουμένους περὶ πραγμάτων τοιούτων τὴν
301 ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖσθαι. τοῦ δὲ δήμου βοῶντος μὴ καταλείψειν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐμὲ μόνον, ἧκέν τις ἀγγέλλων κρύφα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν Ἰωάννην μετὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν πλησιάζειν. καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην οὐκέτι κατασχόντες αὑτούς, τάχα καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ προνοοῦντος τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας, μὴ γὰρ ἂν γενομένου τούτου πάντως ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου δι-
302 εφθάρην, "παύσασθε," ἔφη, "ὦ Τιβεριεῖς, τὴν ζήτησιν εἴκοσι χρυσῶν ἕνεκεν· διὰ τούτους μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄξιός ἐστιν Ἰώσηπος ἀποθανεῖν, ὅτι δὲ τυραννεῖν ἐπεθύμησεν καὶ τὰ τῶν Γαλιλαίων πλήθη λόγοις ἀπατήσας τὴν ἀρχὴν αὑτῷ κατεκτήσατο." ταῦτα λέγοντος εὐθύς μοι τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέβαλον[1] ἀναιρεῖν[2]
303 τ' ἐπειρῶντο. ὡς δ' εἶδον οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ τὸ γινόμενον, σπασάμενοι τὰς μαχαίρας καὶ παίειν[3] ἀπειλήσαντες εἰ βιάζοιντο, τοῦ τε δήμου λίθους ἀραμένου καὶ βάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὁρμήσαντος, ἐξαρπάζουσί με τῆς τῶν πολεμίων βίας.

304 (59) Ἐπεὶ δὲ προελθὼν ὀλίγον ὑπαντιάζειν ἔμελλον τὸν Ἰωάννην ἰόντα[4] μετὰ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, δείσας ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐξέκλινα, διὰ στενωποῦ δέ τινος ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην σωθεὶς καὶ πλοίου λαβόμενος, ἐμβὰς εἰς τὰς Ταριχαίας διεπεραιώθην ἀπροσδοκήτως τὸν κίν-
305 δυνον διαφυγών. μεταπέμπομαί τ' εὐθὺς τοὺς πρωτεύοντας τῶν Γαλιλαίων καὶ φράζω τὸν τρόπον ᾧ παρασπονδηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς παρ' ὀλίγον παρ' αὐτῶν διαφθαρείην.
306 ὀργισθὲν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν Γαλιλαίων τὸ πλῆθος παρεκελεύετό μοι μηκέτι μέλλειν τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς

[1] v.l. ἐπέβαλλον.
[2] ἄρχειν PR.
[3] παίσειν Cobet.

to investigate such matters in a tumultuous assembly. The people were just crying out that they would not leave me alone with them, when a messenger arrived and whispered to Jesus that John was approaching with his troops. Thereupon Jonathan, throwing off all restraint—the providence of God perhaps, co-operating to save me; for, but for this turn of events, I should undoubtedly have been murdered by John—exclaimed: "Have done with this inquiry, men of Tiberias, about twenty pieces of gold. It is not for them that Josephus deserves to die, but for aspiring to make himself a despot and gaining a position of absolute power by deceitful speeches to the people of Galilee." As he said these words, he and his party laid hands on me and attempted to kill me. My companions, seeing what was happening, drew their swords and threatened to use them, if recourse were had to violence; and, while the people were starting to hurl at Jonathan the stones which they had picked up, hurried me out of reach of the ferocity of my enemies.

(59) I had not proceeded far when I found myself nearly facing John, advancing with his troops. I turned from him in alarm, and, escaping by a narrow passage to the lake, seized a boat, embarked and crossed to Tarichaeae, having, beyond all expectation, come safe out of this perilous situation. I at once summoned the leading Galilaeans and described how, in violation of the pledges received from Jonathan and the Tiberians, I had so nearly been murdered by them. Indignant at this treatment, the Galilaeans urged me to hesitate no longer to make

to Tarichaeae.

[4] τῷ Ἰωάννῃ προσιόντι R; but the accus. is normal in Josephus.

πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλ' ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἄρδην αὐτὸν ἀφανίσαι καὶ τοὺς
307 περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην. ἐπεῖχον δ' ὅμως αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ καίπερ οὕτως ὀργιζομένους, περιμένειν αὐτοὺς κελεύων ἕως μάθωμεν τί οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλιν ἀπαγγελοῦσιν· μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνων γὰρ γνώμης τὰ δοκοῦντα πράξειν
308 αὐτοὺς ἔφην. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἔπεισα. τότε δὴ καὶ Ἰωάννης, οὐ λαβούσης αὐτοῦ τέλος τῆς ἐνέδρας, ἀνεζεύγνυεν εἰς τὰ Γισχαλα.

309 (60) Μετ' οὐ πολλὰς δ' ἡμέρας ἀφικνοῦνται πάλιν οὓς ἐπέμψαμεν καὶ ἀπήγγελλον σφόδρα τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἄνανον καὶ τὸν Σίμωνα τὸν τοῦ Γαμαλιήλου παρωξύνθαι, ὅτι χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ κοινοῦ πέμψαντες εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐκπεσεῖν
310 με [ταύτης][1] παρεσκεύασαν. ἔφασαν δ' οἱ πρέσβεις ὅτι καὶ τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν ὁ δῆμος ὥρμησεν ἐμπιπράναι. ἔφερον δὲ καὶ γράμματα δι' ὧν οἱ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πρῶτοι, πολλὰ τοῦ δήμου δεηθέντος αὐτῶν, ἐμοὶ μὲν τὴν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀρχὴν ἐβεβαίουν, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην δὲ προσέτασσον εἰς τὴν
311 οἰκείαν ὑποστρέφειν θᾶσσον. ἐντυχὼν οὖν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς εἰς Ἄρβηλα κώμην ἀφικόμην, ἔνθα σύνοδον τῶν Γαλιλαίων ποιησάμενος ἐκέλευσα τοὺς πρέσβεις διηγεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ὀργὴν καὶ μισοπονηρίαν,
312 καὶ ὡς κυρώσειαν ἐμοὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν τὴν προστασίαν, τά τε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην γεγραμμένα περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς, πρὸς οὓς δὴ καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν εὐθέως διεπεμψάμην, πολυπραγμονῆσαι τὸν κομίσαντα κελεύσας τί ποιεῖν μέλλουσιν.

war upon them, and to permit them to proceed against John and utterly exterminate him and Jonathan and his party. Furious as they were, I was yet able to restrain them; advising them to hold their hands until we heard the report of the delegates whom they had sent to Jerusalem, without whose concurrence no action should be taken. This advice had its effect upon them. John, having failed to accomplish his plot, now returned to Gischala.

(60) Not many days later our delegates returned and reported that popular indignation had been deeply roused against Ananus and Simon, son of Gamaliel, for having, without the sanction of the general assembly, sent emissaries to Galilee to procure my expulsion from the province; they added that the people had even set off to burn down their houses. They also brought letters, whereby the leading men of Jerusalem, at the urgent request of the people, confirmed me in my command of Galilee, and ordered Jonathan and his colleagues to return home forthwith. After reading these instructions, I repaired to the village of Arbela,[a] where I convened a meeting of the Galilaeans and instructed the delegates to tell them of the anger and detestation aroused at Jerusalem by the conduct of Jonathan and his colleagues, of the ratification of my appointment as governor of their province, and of the written orders to my rivals to quit. These I at once dispatched to the latter, giving orders to the bearer to take pains to discover how they intended to proceed.

Return of Josephus' embassy: confirmation of his appointment.

[a] *Irbid*, N.W. of Tiberias.

[1] Inserted only in R.

313 (61) Δεξάμενοι δ' ἐκεῖνοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τα-
ραχθέντες οὔτι[1] μετρίως μεταπέμπονται τὸν Ἰωάν-
νην καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν Τιβεριέων τούς
τε πρωτεύοντας Γαβάρων, βουλήν τε προτιθέασιν
σκοπεῖσθαι κελεύοντες τί πρακτέον ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς.
314 Τιβεριεῦσι μὲν οὖν ἀντέχεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐδόκει τῶν
πραγμάτων· οὐ δεῖν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἐγκαταλείπεσθαι
τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἅπαξ ἐκείνοις προστεθειμένην,
ἄλλως τε μηδ' ἐμοῦ μέλλοντος αὐτῶν ἀφέξεσθαι·
τοῦτο γὰρ ὡς ἠπειληκότος ἐμοῦ κατεψεύδοντο.
315 ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης οὐ μόνον τούτοις συνηρέσκετο, [καὶ][2]
πορευθῆναι δὲ συνεβούλευεν αὐτῶν τοὺς δύο κατηγο-
ρήσοντάς μου πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, ὅτι μὴ καλῶς τὰ
κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν διοικῶ, καὶ πείσειν ῥᾳδίως
αὐτοὺς ἔφη διά τε τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ παντὸς πλήθους
316 εὐτρεπῶς[3] ἔχοντος. δόξαντος οὖν τοῦ Ἰωάννου
κρατίστην εἰσενηνοχέναι γνώμην, ἔδοξε δύο μὲν
ἀπιέναι[4] πρὸς τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας, Ἰωνάθην καὶ
Ἀνανίαν, τοὺς ἑτέρους δὲ δύο μένοντας ἐν τῇ Τιβε-
ριάδι καταλιπεῖν. συνεπηγάγοντο δὲ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα
τῆς ἑαυτῶν ὁπλίτας ἑκατόν.
317 (62) Τιβεριεῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν τείχη προυνόησαν
ἀσφαλισθῆναι, τοὺς ἐνοίκους δὲ κελεύουσιν ἀνα-
λαβεῖν τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ παρὰ Ἰωάννου δὲ μετεπέμψαντο
στρατιώτας οὐκ ὀλίγους συμμαχήσοντας, εἰ δεή-
σειεν, αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς ἐμέ. ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν
318 Γισχάλοις. οἱ τοίνυν περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην ἀναζεύ-
ξαντες ἀπὸ τῆς Τιβεριάδος, ὡς ἧκον εἰς Δαβάριττα
κώμην ἐν ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τῆς Γαλιλαίας κειμένην ἐν
τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ, περὶ μέσην νύκτα τοῖς ἐμοῖς
φύλαξιν ἐμπίπτουσιν, οἳ καὶ κελεύσαντες αὐτοὺς

[1] So Josephus usually writes: οὐχὶ mss.

(61) Profoundly agitated by the receipt of this letter, my opponents summoned John and the Tiberian councillors and the leading men of Gabara, and called a meeting to consider what action they should take. The Tiberians were of opinion that they should tighten their hold on the government, since their own city, having once gone over to them, ought not to be abandoned to its fate, particularly as I did not intend to leave them unmolested—falsely implying that I had made such a threat. John not only agreed to this, but further advised that two of their number should proceed to Jerusalem, to accuse me before the people of maladministration of the province of Galilee; adding that their high rank and the usual fickleness of a crowd would facilitate the task of persuasion. John's proposal being voted the best, it was resolved that two of the envoys, Jonathan and Ananias, should go off to Jerusalem, leaving the other two behind them at Tiberias. The emissaries took with them an armed escort of a hundred men.

Counter-measures of the Jerusalem embassy.

Two of the envoys sent to Jerusalem

(62) The Tiberians now took precautionary measures to secure their fortifications, ordered the inhabitants to be ready in arms, and requisitioned from John, who was back at Gischala, a large force to assist them against me, should the need arise. Meanwhile, Jonathan's party had left Tiberias and reached the village of Dabaritta, situated on the confines of Galilee in the Great Plain.[a] Here, about midnight, they fell into the hands of my guards, who ordered them to lay down their arms and kept

are arrested by Josephus's guards.

[a] *Cf.* § 126 above.

[2] cod. P: omitted by the rest. [3] εὐτρέπτως R.
[4] So *ed. pr.*: ἀπεῖναι MSS.

τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι ἐφύλασσον ἐν δεσμοῖς ἐπὶ
319 τόπου, καθὼς αὐτοῖς ἐντετάλμην. γράφει δὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ ταῦτα δηλῶν Λευίς, ᾧ τὴν φυλακὴν πεπιστεύκειν. παραλιπὼν οὖν ἡμέρας δύο καὶ μηδὲν ἐγνωκέναι προσποιησάμενος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς συνεβούλευον αὐτοῖς τὰ ὅπλα καταθεμένους ἀπολύειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν.
320 οἱ δέ, δόξαν γὰρ εἶχον [τοὺς][1] περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἤδη διαπεπορεῦσθαι, βλασφήμους ἐποιήσαντο τὰς ἀποκρίσεις. μὴ καταπλαγεὶς δ'
321 ἐγὼ καταστρατηγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπενόουν. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς πολίτας ἐξάπτειν πόλεμον οὐκ ἐνόμιζον εὐσεβὲς εἶναι, βουλόμενος δ' αὐτοὺς ἀποσπάσαι τῶν Τιβεριέων, μυρίους ὁπλίτας τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπιλέξας εἰς τρεῖς μοίρας διεῖλον, καὶ τούτους μὲν ἀφανῶς ἐν Ἀδώμαις[2] προσέταξα λοχῶντας περιμένειν,
322 χιλίους δ' εἰς ἑτέραν κώμην, ὀρεινὴν μὲν ὁμοίως, ἀπέχουσαν δὲ τῆς Τιβεριάδος τέσσαρας σταδίους, εἰσήγαγον κελεύσας ἐκείνους ἐπειδὰν λάβωσιν σημεῖον εὐθὺς καταβαίνειν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς κώμης
323 προελθὼν ἐν προύπτῳ καθεζόμην. οἱ δὲ Τιβεριεῖς ὁρῶντες ἐξέτρεχον συνεχῶς καὶ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμουν· τοσαύτη γοῦν ἀφροσύνη κατέσχεν αὐτοὺς ὥστε ποιήσαντες εὐτρεπῆ κλίνην προύθεσαν καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν ἱστάμενοι ὠδύροντό με[3] μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ γέλωτος. διετιθέμην δ' ἐγὼ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡδέως τὴν ἄνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐπιβλέπων.

324 (63) Βουλόμενος δὲ δι' ἐνέδρας λαβεῖν τὸν Σίμωνα καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἰώζαρον, πέμψας πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλουν ὀλίγον τῆς πόλεως πόρρω μετὰ φίλων

[1] τοὺς *ed. pr.*: MSS. omit.
[2] MSS. δώμαις or κώμαις. This emendation, I venture to

them, in chains, on the spot, in accordance with my instructions. The news was reported to me in writing by Levi, to whom I had entrusted the command of the outpost. I then let two days elapse and, feigning ignorance of these events, sent to the Tiberians, advising them to lay down their arms and dismiss the envoys to their home. They, imagining that Jonathan and his colleague had by now reached Jerusalem, sent me an abusive reply. Nothing daunted, I laid my plans to outwit them. To open a campaign upon my fellow-citizens[a] I regarded as impious; my object was to entice them away from the Tiberians. I accordingly selected ten thousand of my finest troops, and, forming them in three divisions, gave them orders to remain concealed in ambush in Adamah. A thousand more I posted in another village in the hills, four furlongs distant from Tiberias, with instructions to come down as soon as they received a signal. I then advanced and took up a position in the open in front of the village. Seeing this, the Tiberians used constantly to sally out of the town and indulge freely in mockery of me. Indeed, so far did they carry their foolery, that they prepared and laid out a bier, and, standing round it, mourned for me with jests and laughter. I was myself amused at the spectacle of their mad behaviour.

(63) Desiring to lay a trap to catch Simon and Jozar,[b] I now sent them an invitation to come out a short distance from the city, with numerous friends A third envoy entrapped.

[a] The two envoys from Jerusalem left at Tiberias, § 316.
[b] § 197.

think, seems convincing. A place-name is needed, and Adamah (*Dāmieh*), some six miles S.W. of Tiberias, in the hills, meets the requirements. [3] *με* omitted by PRA.

πολλῶν τῶν παραφυλαξόντων αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν· βού-
λεσθαι γὰρ ἔφην καταβὰς σπείσασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς
καὶ διανείμασθαι τὴν προστασίαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας.
325 Σίμων μὲν οὖν διά <τε> νεότητα[1] καὶ πρὸς ἐλπίδα[2]
κέρδους ἀπατηθεὶς οὐκ ὤκνησεν ἐλθεῖν, ὁ δὲ Ἰώζα-
ρος ἐνέδραν ὑποπτεύσας ἔμεινεν. ἀναβάντα δὴ τὸν
Σίμωνα μετὰ φίλων τῶν παραφυλασσόντων αὐτὸν
ὑπαντιάσας ἠσπαζόμην τε φιλοφρόνως καὶ χάριν
326 ἔχειν ὡμολόγουν ἀναβάντι. μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ συμ-
περιπατῶν ὡς κατὰ μόνας τι βουλόμενος εἰπεῖν,
ἐπεὶ πορρωτέρω τῶν φίλων ἀπήγαγον, μέσον
ἀράμενος ἀγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν κώμην τοῖς μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ
φίλοις ἔδωκα, τοὺς ὁπλίτας δὲ καταβῆναι κελεύσας
327 προσέβαλλον μετ᾽ αὐτῶν τῇ Τιβεριάδι. μάχης δὲ
γενομένης ἀμφοτέρωθεν καρτερᾶς καὶ ὅσον οὔπω
τῶν Τιβεριέων νικώντων, πεφεύγεισαν γὰρ οἱ παρ᾽
ἡμῶν ὁπλῖται, τὸ γινόμενον ἰδὼν καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽
ἐμαυτοῦ παρακαλέσας νικῶντας ἤδη τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς
εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνεδίωξα. ἑτέραν δὲ δύναμιν
εἰσπέμψας[3] διὰ τῆς λίμνης προσέταξα τὴν πρώτην
328 λαβοῦσιν οἰκίαν ἐμπρῆσαι. τούτου γενομένου νομί-
σαντες οἱ Τιβεριεῖς εἰλῆφθαι κατὰ κράτος αὐτῶν
τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ φόβου ῥίπτουσιν τὰ ὅπλα, μετὰ
γυναικῶν δὲ καὶ τέκνων ἱκέτευον φείσασθαι τῆς
329 πόλεως αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὰς δεήσεις ἐπικλα-
σθεὶς τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας τῆς ὁρμῆς ἐπέσχον,
αὐτὸς δέ, καὶ γὰρ ἑσπέρα κατέλαβεν, μετὰ τῶν
ὁπλιτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας ὑποστρέψας περὶ τὴν
330 τοῦ σώματος θεραπείαν ἐγινόμην. καλέσας δὲ ἐπὶ
τὴν ἑστίασιν τὸν Σίμωνα παρεμυθούμην περὶ τῶν

[1] τε νεότητα, text emended: στενότητα P, νεότητα RMW, τε ἄνοιαν A.

to protect them, explaining that I was anxious to come down and make terms with them with a view to a division of the supreme command of Galilee. Simon, owing to his years and expectations of personal profit, was deluded and came without hesitation; Jozar, suspecting a plot, remained behind. Simon, accordingly, came up country with his escort of friends; I met him, gave him a friendly greeting, and thanked him for coming. Not long after, walking beside him as though I desired to speak with him in private, I drew him a considerable distance from his party, and then seized him round the waist and handed him over to the friends who attended me, to be conducted to the village. I then ordered down my troops and proceeded with them to the assault of Tiberias. A stubbornly contested engagement ensued, and the Tiberians, owing to the flight of our men, had the battle almost in their hands, when, seeing the situation of affairs, I cheered on the troops that were with me and drove the Tiberians, now on the verge of victory, back into the town. I had also dispatched another contingent to enter the city by way of the lake, with orders to set fire to the first house which they took. This being successfully done, the Tiberians, supposing that their city had been carried by storm, threw down their arms in alarm, and, with their wives and children, implored me to spare it. Moved by their entreaties, I restrained the fury of the soldiers, and, as dusk had now fallen, abandoned the assault together with my troops, and retired for refreshment. I invited Simon to dine with me and consoled him for his fate,

Josephus attacks Tiberias: its submission.

[2] v.l. ἐλπίδι; πρὸς being then adverbial.
[3] εἰσπέμψαι PRA.

γεγονότων, ὑπισχνούμην τε δοὺς ἐφόδια αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ παραπέμψειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας.

331 (64) Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν μυρίους ἐπαγόμενος ὁπλίτας ἧκον εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος εἰς τὸ στάδιον τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν τοῦ πλήθους ἐκέλευσα φράζειν οἵτινες εἶεν
332 αἴτιοι τῆς ἀποστάσεως. ἐνδειξαμένων δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐκείνους μὲν δεδεμένους εἰς τὴν Ἰωταπάτην πόλιν ἐξέπεμψα, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ Ἀνανίαν λύσας τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ δοὺς ἐφόδια μετὰ Σίμωνος καὶ Ἰωζάρου καὶ ὁπλιτῶν πεντακοσίων, οἳ παραφυλάξουσιν αὐτούς, ἐξέπεμψα εἰς τὰ
333 Ἱεροσόλυμα. Τιβεριεῖς δὲ πάλιν προσελθόντες συγγινώσκειν αὐτοῖς παρεκάλουν περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἐπανορθώσεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῇ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς ἐμὲ πίστει λέγοντες· τὰ δ' ἐκ τῆς διαρπαγῆς περισσεύσαντα σῶσαί με τοῖς ἀπολέσα-
334 σιν ἐδέοντο. κἀγὼ τοῖς ἔχουσιν προσέταττον εἰς μέσον πάντα φέρειν· ἀπειθούντων δὲ μέχρι πολλοῦ, θεασάμενός τινα τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ στρατιωτῶν λαμπροτέραν τοῦ συνήθους περικείμενον στολὴν ἐπυθόμην
335 πόθεν ἔχοι. εἰπόντος δὲ ἐκ τῆς κατὰ πόλιν ἁρπαγῆς, ἐκεῖνον μὲν πληγαῖς ἐκόλασα, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἠπείλησα μείζω τιμωρίαν ἐπιθήσειν μὴ κομίσασιν εἰς τοὐμφανὲς ὅσα ἡρπάκεισαν. πολλῶν δὲ συνενεχθέντων[1] ἑκάστῳ τῶν Τιβεριέων τὸ ἐπιγνωσθὲν ἀπέδωκα.

336 (65) Γεγονὼς δ' ἐνταῦθα τῆς διηγήσεως βούλομαι πρὸς Ἰοῦστον, καὶ αὐτὸν τὴν περὶ τούτων πραγματείαν γεγραφότα, πρός τε τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς

promising him and his companions a safe escort, with supplies for the journey, to Jerusalem.

(64) On the following day I entered Tiberias with an army of ten thousand men, and summoning the leading citizens to the stadium, commanded them to give me the names of the authors of the revolt. The information being supplied, I dispatched the incriminated individuals, in chains, to the town of Jotapata. Jonathan and Ananias I released and, providing them with supplies, sent them off together with Simon and Jozar and five hundred soldiers to escort them to Jerusalem. The Tiberians now approached me again and implored my forgiveness for their conduct, promising to make amends for the errors of the past by their loyalty in future. They besought me at the same time to recover what still remained of the plunder for those who had lost their property. I accordingly ordered all the possessors to produce everything. As there was considerable delay in obeying these orders I, observing that one of my soldiers was wearing an unusually magnificent garment, asked him whence he obtained it. On his replying "From the sack of the city," I punished him with the lash, and threatened the rest with severer penalties if they failed to surrender their spoils. A mass of property being thus collected, I restored to each individual what he recognized as his own.

The envoys dismissed to Jerusalem.

(65) Having reached this point in my narrative, I propose to address a few words to Justus, who has produced his own account of these affairs, and to others

Digression on Justus of Tiberias, a rival historian of the war.

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[1] P: συναχθέντων the rest.

ἱστορίαν μὲν γράφειν ὑπισχνουμένους, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὀλιγώρους καὶ δι' ἔχθραν ἢ χάριν τὸ
337 ψεῦδος οὐκ ἐντρεπομένους, [μικρὰ διελθεῖν].[1] πράττουσι μὲν γὰρ ὅμοιόν τι τοῖς περὶ συμβολαίων πλαστὰ γράμματα συντιθεῖσι, τῷ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὁμοίως τιμωρίαν ἐκείνοις δεδιέναι καταφρονοῦσι τῆς ἀλη-
338 θείας. Ἰοῦστος γοῦν συγγράφειν τὰς περὶ τοῦτον[2] ἐπιχειρήσας πράξεις τὸν πόλεμον, ὑπὲρ τοῦ δοκεῖν φιλόπονος εἶναι ἐμοῦ μὲν κατέψευσται, ἠλήθευσε δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος. ὅθεν, ἀπολογήσασθαι γὰρ νῦν ἀνάγκην ἔχω καταψευδομαρτυρούμενος,
339 ἐρῶ τὰ μέχρι νῦν σεσιωπημένα. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃ τις ὅτι μὴ πάλαι περὶ τούτων ἐδήλωσα· τῷ γὰρ ἱστορίαν ἀναγράφοντι τὸ μὲν ἀληθεύειν ἀναγκαῖον, ἔξεστιν δ' ὅμως μὴ πικρῶς τὰς τινῶν πονηρίας ἐλέγχειν, οὐ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους χάριν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ μετριότητα.

340 Πῶς οὖν, ἵνα φῶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς παρόντα, Ἰοῦστε, δεινότατε συγγραφέων, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐχεῖς περὶ σεαυτοῦ, αἴτιοι γεγόναμεν ἐγώ τε καὶ Γαλιλαῖοι τῇ πατρίδι σου τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ πρὸς τὸν
341 βασιλέα στάσεως; πρότερον γὰρ ἢ ἐμὲ τῆς Γαλιλαίας στρατηγὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν χειροτονηθῆναι, σὺ καὶ πάντες Τιβεριεῖς οὐ μόνον ἀνειλήφατε τὰ ὅπλα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ δέκα πόλεις ἐπολεμεῖτε. σὺ γοῦν τὰς κώμας αὐτῶν ἐνέπρησας καὶ ὁ σὸς οἰκέτης ἐπὶ τῆς παρα-
342 τάξεως ἐκείνης ἔπεσεν. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ λέγω μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ τοῦ αὐτο-

[1] The bracketed words occur in A only.
[2] W: the rest τούτων.

[a] Probably an official record in Latin based on the field-

who, while professing to write history, care little for truth, and, either from spite or partiality, have no scruples about falsehood. The procedure of such persons resembles indeed that of forgers of contracts, but, having no corresponding penalty to fear, they can afford to disdain veracity. Justus, for instance, having taken upon himself to record the history of this war, has, in order to gain credit for industrious research, not only maligned me, but even failed to tell the truth about his native place. Being, therefore, now compelled to defend myself against these false allegations, I shall allude to matters about which I have hitherto kept silence. My omission to make such a statement at an earlier date should not occasion surprise. For, while veracity is incumbent upon a historian, he is none the less at liberty to refrain from harsh scrutiny of the misdeeds of individuals, not from any partiality for the offenders, but because of his own moderation.

Justus, not Josephus, responsible for the revolt of Tiberias from Rome.

How, then, Justus—if I may address him as though he were present—how, most clever of historians, as you boast yourself to be, can I and the Galilaeans be held responsible for the insurrection of your native city against the Romans and against the king; seeing that, before I was elected by the general assembly at Jerusalem to the command of Galilee, you and all the citizens of Tiberias had not only resorted to arms, but were actually at war with the towns of the Syrian Decapolis? It was you who burnt their villages, and your domestic fell in the engagement on that occasion. This is no unsupported assertion of my own. The facts are recorded in the *Commentaries* [a]

notes of Vespasian. *Cf.* § 358, and the *Commentaries* of Julius Caesar on the Gallic War.

κράτορος ὑπομνήμασιν οὕτως γέγραπται, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι Οὐεσπασιανοῦ κατεβόησαν οἱ τῶν δέκα πόλεων ἔνοικοι, τιμωρίαν ὑποσχεῖν
343 σε τὸν αἴτιον ἀξιοῦντες. καὶ δεδώκεις ἂν δίκην Οὐεσπασιανοῦ κελεύσαντος, εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν ἀποκτεῖναί σε, πολλὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Βερενίκης δεηθείσης, οὐκ ἀνελὼν δεδε-
344 μένον ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐφύλαξεν. καὶ αἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πολιτεῖαί σου σαφῶς ἐμφανίζουσιν τόν τε βίον τὸν ἄλλον καὶ ὅτι σὺ τὴν πατρίδα Ῥωμαίων ἀπέστησας· ὧν τὰ τεκμήρια κἀγὼ δηλώσω μετ' ὀλίγον.

345 Βούλομαι δ' εἰπεῖν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Τιβεριεῖς ὀλίγα διὰ σὲ καὶ παραστῆσαι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνειν μέλλουσιν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ὅτι μήτε φιλορώμαιοι
346 μήτε φιλοβασιλεῖς γεγόνατε. τῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ πόλεων αἱ μέγισται Σέπφωρις καὶ Τιβεριὰς ἡ σὴ πατρίς, ὦ Ἰοῦστε. ἀλλὰ Σέπφωρις μὲν ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς Γαλιλαίας κειμένη καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν κώμας ἔχουσα πολλάς, καί τι καὶ θρασύνεσθαι δυναμένη πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, εἴπερ ἠθέλησεν, εὐχερῶς, διεγνωκυῖα τῇ πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας ἐμμένειν πίστει κἀμὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ἐξέκλεισε καὶ στρατεύσασθαί τινα τῶν πολιτῶν Ἰουδαίοις ἐκώλυσεν.
347 ὅπως δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλεῖς εἶεν, ἠπάτησάν με τείχεσιν αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν ὀχυρῶσαι προτρέψαντες, καὶ παρὰ Κεστίου Γάλλου τοῦ τῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Ῥωμαϊκῶν ταγμάτων ἡγεμονεύοντος φρουρὰν ἑκόντες ἐδέξαντο, καταφρονήσαντες ἐμοῦ τότε μέγα δυναμένου καὶ πᾶσιν δι' ἐκπλήξεως ὄντος.
348 πολιορκουμένης τε τῆς μεγίστης ἡμῶν πόλεως

of the Emperor Vespasian, which further relate how insistently the inhabitants of Decapolis pressed Vespasian, when at Ptolemais, to punish you, as the culprit. And punished you would have been under his orders, had not King Agrippa, though empowered to put you to death, at the urgent entreaty of his sister Berenice, commuted the death penalty to a long term of imprisonment. Moreover, your subsequent public life is a sure index of character and proves that it was you who caused the revolt of your native city from Rome. Proofs of these statements I shall adduce presently.

I have, however, a few words which I would address, on your account, to the other inhabitants of Tiberias, in order to demonstrate to future readers of this history [a] that you and your fellow-citizens were friendly neither to the Romans nor to the king. Of the cities of Galilee the largest are Sepphoris and Tiberias — your native Tiberias, Justus. Now, Sepphoris, situated in the heart of Galilee, surrounded by numerous villages, and in a position, without any difficulty, had she been so inclined, to make a bold stand against the Romans, nevertheless decided to remain loyal to her masters, excluded me from the town, and forbade any of her citizens to take service with the Jews. Moreover, in order to secure themselves against me, they inveigled me into fortifying the city with walls, and then voluntarily admitted a garrison provided by Cestius Gallus, commander-in-chief of the Roman legions in Syria; flouting me at a time when I exercised great power and was universally held in awe. Again, when Jerusalem,

Contrast between pro-Roman Sepphoris

A.D. 70.

[a] Literally "the histories," perhaps meaning "our (rival) histories."

Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων ἱεροῦ κινδυνεύοντος ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἐξουσίᾳ γενέσθαι, συμμαχίαν οὐκ ἔπεμψαν, μὴ βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν
349 κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα λαβεῖν. ἡ δὲ σὴ πατρίς, ὦ Ἰοῦστε, κειμένη ἐν[1] τῇ Γεννησαρίτιδι[2] λίμνῃ καὶ ἀπέχουσα Ἵππου μὲν στάδια τριάκοντα, Γαδάρων δὲ ἑξήκοντα, Σκυθοπόλεως δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τῆς ὑπηκόου βασιλεῖ, μηδεμιᾶς δὲ πόλεως Ἰουδαίων παρακειμένης, εἰ ἤθελεν τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν
350 φυλάττειν, ῥᾳδίως ἐδύνατο. καὶ γὰρ πολὺς ἦτε δῆμος καὶ ὅπλων ηὐπορεῖτε. ἀλλ', ὡς σὺ φής, αἴτιος ὑμῖν[3] ἐγὼ τότε. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τίς, ὦ Ἰοῦστε; πρὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίας οἶδας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐμὲ γενόμενον, καὶ Ἰωτάπατα κατὰ κράτος ληφθέντα φρούριά τε πολλά, πολύν τε
351 Γαλιλαίων ὄχλον κατὰ τὴν μάχην πεσόντα. τότ' οὖν ἐχρῆν ὑμᾶς παντὸς ἀπηλλαγμένους τοῦ δι' ἐμὲ φόβου ῥῖψαί τε τὰ ὅπλα καὶ παραστῆσαι τῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὅτι δὴ οὐχ ἑκόντες ἀλλ' ἀναγκασθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡρμήσατε πόλε-
352 μον. ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ περιεμείνατε Οὐεσπασιανόν, ἕως αὐτὸς ἀφικόμενος μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως προσέλθοι τοῖς τείχεσιν, καὶ τότε διὰ φόβον τὰ ὅπλα κατέθεσθε[4]· καὶ πάντως ἂν ὑμῶν ἡ πόλις ἥλω κατὰ κράτος, εἰ μὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ δεομένῳ καὶ τὴν

[1] ἐπὶ Cobet. [2] Γεννησαρίδι PR.
[3] Niese: MSS. ἥμην (perhaps rightly) or ὑμῶν.
[4] Hudson: καταθέσθαι MSS.

[a] "This only means that Scythopolis was on the side of Agrippa and the Romans." It was "an independent town

our capital, was besieged, and the Temple, which was common to us all, was in danger of falling into the enemy's hands, they sent no assistance, wishing to avoid all suspicion of having borne arms against the Romans.

Your native city, Justus, on the contrary, situated on the lake of Gennesaret, and distant from Hippos thirty furlongs, from Gadara sixty and from Scythopolis, which was under the king's jurisdiction,[a] one hundred and twenty, with no Jewish city in the vicinity, might easily, had it so desired, have kept faith with the Romans. You were a populous community and well supplied with arms. But, you maintain, it was I who was responsible for your revolt at that time. Well, who was responsible, Justus, later on? For you are aware that before the siege of Jerusalem I was taken prisoner by the Romans, that Jotapata and many other fortresses had been carried by storm, and that a large number of Galilaeans had fallen in battle. That was the proper occasion for you, when you had nothing whatever to fear from me, to abandon hostilities and to convince the king and the Romans that it was not your own free will but compulsion which drove you into war against them. Instead, you waited until Vespasian arrived in person, with his whole army, beneath your walls; and then, at last, in alarm, you did lay down your arms. But your city would undoubtedly have been taken by storm, had not

and anti-Roman Tiberias.

under Roman supremacy," and never, apparently, in the possession of any of the Herods. Schürer, *H.J.P.*, div. ii., vol. i. p. 112. "You had pro-Roman towns at hand to protect you" is the argument. Josephus is here hard put to it to answer Justus, since, for all his temporizing, he did take the lead against the Romans in the opening campaign.

ἄνοιαν ὑμῶν παραιτουμένῳ συνεχώρησεν Οὐεσπα-
σιανός. οὐκ ἐγὼ τοίνυν αἴτιος, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ
353 πολεμικὰ φρονήσαντες. ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε ὅτι τοσαυ-
τάκις ὑμῶν ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος οὐδένα διέφθειρα,
στασιάζοντες δ' ὑμεῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐ διὰ τὴν
πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὸν βασιλέα εὔνοιαν, διὰ δὲ
τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν πονηρίαν, ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα
πέντε τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπεκτείνατε, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν
ἐκεῖνον ἐμοῦ πολιορκουμένου ἐν Ἰωταπάτοις ὑπὸ
354 Ῥωμαίων; τί δ'; οὐχὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἱερο-
σολυμιτῶν πολιορκίαν δισχίλιοι Τιβεριέων ἐξ-
ητάσθησαν, οἱ μὲν πεπτωκότες οἱ δὲ ληφθέντες
αἰχμάλωτοι; ἀλλὰ σὺ πολέμιος οὐ γεγονέναι φή-
σεις, ὅτι πρὸς βασιλέα τότ' ἔφυγες. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ
355 διὰ τὸν ἐξ ἐμοῦ φόβον φημί σε πεποιηκέναι. κἀγὼ
μὲν πονηρός, ὡς λέγεις· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ὁ
τὴν ψυχήν σοι συγχωρήσας ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ
θανεῖν κατακριθέντι, ὁ τοσούτοις δωρησάμενος
χρήμασιν, τίνος ἕνεκεν ὕστερον δὶς μὲν ἔδησε,
τοσαυτάκις δὲ φυγεῖν τὴν πατρίδα προσέταξεν καὶ
ἀποθανεῖν δὲ κελεύσας ἅπαξ τῇ ἀδελφῇ Βερενίκῃ
356 πολλὰ δεηθείσῃ τὴν σὴν σωτηρίαν ἐχαρίσατο; καὶ
μετὰ τοσαῦτα δέ σου κακουργήματα τάξιν ἐπι-
στολῶν σοι πιστεύσας, ὡς καὶ ταύταις εὗρε ῥαδι-
ουργόν, ἀπήλασε τῆς ὄψεως. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων
ἐλέγχειν ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς ἐῶ.
357 Θαυμάζειν δ' ἔπεισί μοι τὴν σὴν ἀναίδειαν, ὅτι
τολμᾷς λέγειν ἁπάντων τῶν τὴν πραγματείαν
ταύτην γεγραφότων αὐτὸς ἄμεινον ἐξηγγελκέναι,
μήτε τὰ πραχθέντα κατὰ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐπιστάμενος,

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[a] Or "your native place."

Vespasian yielded to the king's intercession to condone your folly. The responsibility therefore rests not with me, but with you, Tiberians, and your passion for war. Have you forgotten how, often as I had you in my power, I put not one of you to death; whereas you in your party quarrels, not from any loyalty to the Romans and the king, but of your own malice, slew one hundred and eighty-five of your fellow-citizens at the time when I was besieged in Jotapata by the Romans? Again, were there not two thousand Tiberians found at the siege of Jerusalem, of whom some fell and others were taken prisoners?

But you, Justus, will urge that you at least were no enemy [of Rome], because in those early days you sought refuge with the king. I reply that it was fear of me which drove you to do so. I too, then, you assert, was a knave. Well, how do you account for your treatment by King Agrippa, to whom you owed your life, when condemned to death by Vespasian, and all that wealth which he lavished upon you? Why did he subsequently twice put you in irons and as often command you to quit the country,[a] and once order you to execution, when he spared your life only at the earnest entreaty of his sister Berenice? And when, after all your knavish tricks, he had appointed you his private secretary, he detected you once more in fraudulent practices and banished you from his sight. But I forbear to scrutinize these matters too closely. Relations between Justus and Agrippa.

I cannot, however, but wonder at your impudence in daring to assert that your narrative is to be preferred to that of all who have written on this subject, when you neither knew what happened in Galilee— Justus's belated and erroneous History of the War

ἧς γὰρ ἐν Βηρυτῷ τότε παρὰ βασιλεῖ, μήθ' ὅσα
ἔπαθον Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωταπάτων πολιορκίας
ἢ ἔδρασαν ἡμᾶς παρακολουθήσας, μήθ' ὅσα κατ'
ἐμαυτὸν ἔπραξα πολιορκούμενος δυνηθεὶς πυθέσθαι·
πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἀπαγγείλαντες ἂν διεφθάρησαν ἐπὶ
358 τῆς παρατάξεως ἐκείνης. ἀλλ' ἴσως τὰ κατὰ τὴν
Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πραχθέντα μετὰ ἀκριβείας φήσεις
συγγεγραφέναι. καὶ πῶς οἷόν τε; οὔτε γὰρ τῷ
πολέμῳ παρέτυχες οὔτε τὰ Καίσαρος ἀνέγνως
ὑπομνήματα. μέγιστον δὲ τεκμήριον· τοῖς [γὰρ][1]
Καίσαρος ὑπομνήμασιν ἐναντίαν πεποίησαι τὴν
359 γραφήν. εἰ δὲ θαρρεῖς ἄμεινον ἁπάντων συγγεγρα-
φέναι, διὰ τί ζώντων Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου τῶν
αὐτοκρατόρων τοῦ πολέμου γενομένων[2] καὶ βασιλέως
Ἀγρίππα περιόντος ἔτι καὶ τῶν ἐκ γένους αὐτοῦ
πάντων, ἀνδρῶν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας ἐπὶ
πλεῖστον ἡκόντων, τὴν ἱστορίαν οὐκ ἔφερες εἰς
360 μέσον; πρὸ γὰρ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν εἶχες γεγραμμένην
καὶ παρ' εἰδότων ἔμελλες τῆς ἀκριβείας τὴν
μαρτυρίαν ἀποφέρεσθαι. νῦν δ', ὅτ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν
οὐκέτ' εἰσὶν μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἐλεγχθῆναι δ' οὐ νομίζεις,
τεθάρρηκας.
361 Οὐ μὴν ἐγώ σοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον περὶ τῆς
ἐμαυτοῦ γραφῆς ἔδεισα, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ἐπέδωκα τοῖς
αὐτοκράτορσι τὰ βιβλία μόνον οὐ τῶν ἔργων ἔτι
βλεπομένων· συνῄδειν γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ τετηρηκότι τὴν
τῆς ἀληθείας παράδοσιν, ἐφ' ᾗ μαρτυρίας τεύξεσθαι
362 προσδοκήσας οὐ διήμαρτον. καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ πολλοῖς
εὐθὺς ἐπέδωκα τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὧν ἔνιοι καὶ παρα-
τετεύχεισαν τῷ πολέμῳ, καθάπερ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίπ-

[1] ins. R: the rest omit.
[2] τοῦ πολ. γεν.] τῶν τὸν πόλεμον κατεργασαμένων R.

for you were then at Berytus[a] with the king—nor acquainted yourself with all that the Romans endured or inflicted upon us at the siege of Jotapata; nor was it in your power to ascertain the part which I myself played in the siege, since all possible informants perished in that conflict. Perhaps, however, you will say that you have accurately narrated the events which took place at Jerusalem. How, pray, can that be, seeing that neither were you a combatant nor had you perused the *Commentaries* of Caesar,[b] as is abundantly proved by your contradictory account? But, if you are so confident that your history excels all others, why did you not publish it in the lifetime of the Emperors Vespasian and Titus, who conducted the war, and while King Agrippa and all his family, persons thoroughly conversant with Hellenic culture, were still among us? You had it written twenty years ago, and might then have obtained the evidence of eyewitnesses to your accuracy. But not until now, when those persons are no longer with us and you think you cannot be confuted, have you ventured to publish it. After A.D. 100.

I had no such apprehensions concerning my work. No; I presented the volumes to the Emperors themselves, when the events had hardly passed out of sight, conscious as I was that I had preserved the true story. I expected to receive testimony to my accuracy, and was not disappointed. To many others also I immediately presented my *History*, some of whom had taken part in the war, such as King contrasted with that of Josephus.

[a] Beirut. [b] *i.e.* Titus; *cf.* § 342 (note).

363 πας καί τινες αὐτοῦ τῶν συγγενῶν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ Τίτος [οὕτως][1] ἐκ μόνων αὐτῶν ἐβουλήθη τὴν γνῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παραδοῦναι τῶν πράξεων, ὥστε χαράξας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ τὰ
364 βιβλία δημοσιῶσαι προσέταξεν· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἑξήκοντα δύο γέγραφεν ἐπιστολὰς τῇ τῆς ἀληθείας παραδόσει μαρτυρῶν. ὧν δὴ καὶ δύο ὑπέταξα καὶ βουληθέντι σοι τὰ γεγραμμένα γνῶναι πάρεστιν ἐξ αὐτῶν·

365 "Βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας Ἰωσήπῳ τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν. ἥδιστα διῆλθον τὴν βίβλον,[2] καί μοι πολὺ ἐπιμελέστερον ἔδοξας τῶν ταῦτα συγγραψάντων ἠκριβωκέναι. πέμπε δέ μοι καὶ τὰς λοιπάς. ἔρρωσο.[3]"

366 "Βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας Ἰωσήπῳ τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν. ἐξ ὧν ἔγραψας οὐδεμιᾶς ἔοικας χρῄζειν διδασκαλίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μαθεῖν ἡμᾶς ὅλους ἀρχῆθεν. ὅταν μέντοι συντύχῃς μοι, καὶ αὐτός σε πολλὰ κατηχήσω τῶν ἀγνοουμένων."

367 Ἐμοὶ δὲ[4] ἀπαρτισθείσης τῆς ἱστορίας ἀληθείᾳ,[5] οὐ κολακεύων, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπέβαλλεν αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ εἰρωνευόμενος, ὡς σὺ φήσεις, πόρρω γὰρ ἦν ἐκεῖνος τοιαύτης κακοηθείας, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐμαρτύρει, καθάπερ πάντες οἱ ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐντυγχάνοντες. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸς Ἰοῦστον ἀναγκαίαν λαβόντα τὴν παρέκβασιν[6] μέχρι τούτων [ἡμῖν][7] λελέχθω.

[1] om. PR.
[2] βύβλον PA.
[3] RAMW add φίλτατε.
[4] Text doubtful: R οὕτως δέ μοι: Niese marks a lacuna.
[5] Doubtful: Hudson suggests Ἀγρίππας.
[6] παράθεσιν PR.
[7] P: the rest omit.

Agrippa and certain of his relatives. Indeed, so anxious was the Emperor Titus that my volumes should be the sole authority from which the world should learn the facts, that he affixed his own signature to them and gave orders for their publication; while King Agrippa wrote sixty-two letters testifying to the truth of the record. Two of these I subjoin, from which you may, if you will, learn the nature of his communications:

"King Agrippa to dearest Josephus, greeting. I have perused the book with the greatest pleasure. You seem to me to have written with much greater care and accuracy than any who have dealt with the subject. Send me the remaining volumes. Farewell."

"King Agrippa to dearest Josephus, greeting. From what you have written you appear to stand in no need of instruction, to enable us all to learn (everything from you) from the beginning.[a] But when you meet me, I will myself by word of mouth inform you of much that is not generally known."

And, on the completion of my *History*, not in flattery, which was contrary to his nature, nor yet, as *you*[b] no doubt will say, in irony, for he was far above such malignity, but in all sincerity, he, in common with all readers of my volumes, bore witness to their accuracy. But here let me close this digression on Justus which he has forced upon me.

[a] The king's alleged "culture" here fails him; the Greek is vulgar and obscure. For ἡμᾶς ὅλους, "us all," perhaps we should read ἡμᾶς ὅλως, "us completely."

[b] *i.e.* Justus, whom he again addresses.

368 (66) Διοικήσας δ' ἐγὼ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Τιβεριάδα καὶ καθίσας τῶν φίλων συνέδριον ἐβουλευόμην περὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἰωάννην πραχθησομένων. ἐδόκει μὲν οὖν πᾶσι τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις ὁπλίσαντα πάντας ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ δίκας
369 ὡς πάσης τῆς στάσεως αἰτίου γεγονότος. οὐκ ἠρεσκόμην δ' ἐγὼ ταῖς γνώμαις αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν ἔχων τὰς ταραχὰς χωρὶς φόνου καταστέλλειν. ὅθεν δὴ παρῄνεσα πᾶσαν εἰσενέγκασθαι πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γνῶναι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ
370 ὄντων. ποιησάντων δ' ἐκείνων γνοὺς ἐγὼ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οἵτινες ἦσαν ἐξέθηκα πρόγραμμα, διὰ τούτου πίστιν καὶ δεξιὰν προτείνων τοῖς μετὰ Ἰωάννου θελήσασιν λαβεῖν μετάνοιαν, καὶ ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι χρόνον προέτεινα τοῖς βουλεύσασθαι θέλουσιν περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς συμφερόντων. ἠπείλουν δέ, εἰ μὴ ῥίψουσιν τὰ ὅπλα, καταπρήσειν αὐτῶν τὰς οἰ-
371 κήσεις καὶ δημοσιώσειν τὰς οὐσίας. ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ταραχθέντες οὔ τι μετρίως καταλείπουσιν μὲν τὸν Ἰωάννην, τὰ δ' ὅπλα ῥίψαντες ἧκον πρός με τετρακισχίλιοι τὸν
372 ἀριθμὸν ὄντες. μόνοι δὲ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ παρέμειναν οἱ πολῖται[1] καὶ ξένοι τινὲς ἐκ τῆς Τυρίων μητροπόλεως ὡς χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. Ἰωάννης μὲν οὖν οὕτω καταστρατηγηθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι περίφοβος ἔμεινεν.

373 (67) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Σεπφωρῖται θαρρήσαντες ἀναλαμβάνουσιν ὅπλα, πεποιθότες τῇ τε τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητι καὶ τῷ πρὸς ἑτέροις ὄντα με ὁρᾶν. πέμπουσι δὴ πρὸς Κέστιον Γάλλον, Συρίας δ' ἦν οὗτος ἡγεμών, παρακαλοῦντες ἢ αὐτὸν ἥκειν θᾶττον παραληψόμενον αὐτῶν τὴν

(66) Having settled the affairs of Tiberias,[a] I called a meeting of my friends, to deliberate on the measures to be taken against John. The Galilaeans were unanimously of opinion that I should arm them all, march against him and punish him as the author of all these disturbances. This opinion I was unable to share, being determined to quell these disorders without bloodshed. I, accordingly, advised them to do their utmost to discover the names of John's followers. This they did, and I, on learning who these men were, issued a proclamation tendering pledges of security to any of John's adherents who were prepared to change their policy. I allowed twenty days' grace for deliberation as to the course most conducive to their own interests; threatening, on the other hand, unless they abandoned their arms, to burn their houses to the ground and confiscate their property. On hearing this they were in the utmost alarm, deserted John, flung down their arms, and joined me, to the number of four thousand. John was left with no more than his fellow-citizens and some fifteen hundred foreigners from the Tyrian metropolis. Thus outmanœuvred by me, he remained thenceforth, completely cowed, in his native town.

John of Gischala deserted by most of his adherents.

(67) About this time the Sepphorites, emboldened by the strength of their walls and my pre-occupation with other affairs, ventured to take up arms.[b] They accordingly sent a request to Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, either to come himself without delay and take over their city, or to send them a

Sepphoris, making overtures to C. Gallus, is taken by Josephus and nearly destroyed by his soldiers.

[a] The narrative, broken off at § 335, is here resumed. *Cf. B.* ii. 622-625.

[b] *Cf. B.* ii. 645 f.

[1] So, surely rightly, MW: ὁπλῖται PRA.

374 πόλιν ἢ πέμψαι τοὺς φρουρήσοντας. ὁ δὲ Γάλλος
ἐλεύσεσθαι μὲν ὑπέσχετο, πότε δὲ οὐ διεσάφησεν.
κἀγὼ ταῦτα πυθόμενος, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς σὺν ἐμοὶ
στρατιώτας καὶ ὁρμήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Σεπφωρίτας
375 εἷλον αὐτῶν κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν. λαβόμενοι
δ' ἀφορμῆς οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι καὶ παρεῖναι τοῦ μίσους
τὸν καιρὸν οὐ βουληθέντες, εἶχον γὰρ ἀπεχθῶς καὶ
πρὸς ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, ὥρμησαν ὡς ἄρδην ἀφανί-
376 σοντες πάντας σὺν τοῖς ἐποίκοις. εἰσδραμόντες
οὖν ἐνεπίμπρασαν αὐτῶν τὰς οἰκίας ἐρήμους
καταλαμβάνοντες· οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι δείσαντες εἰς
τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέφυγον· διήρπαζον δὲ πάντα
καὶ τρόπον οὐδένα πορθήσεως κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων
377 παρελίμπανον. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ θεασάμενος σφόδρα
διετέθην ἀνιαρῶς καὶ παύεσθαι προσέταττον αὐτοῖς,
ὑπομιμνήσκων ὅτι τοιαῦτα δρᾶν ὁμοφύλους οὐκ
378 ἔστιν ὅσιον. ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτε παρακαλοῦντος οὔτε
προστάσσοντος ἤκουον, ἐνίκα δὲ τὸ μῖσος τὰς
παραινέσεις, τοὺς πιστοτάτους τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ φίλων
ἐκέλευσα διαδοῦναι λόγους ὡς Ῥωμαίων μετὰ
μεγάλης δυνάμεως κατὰ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τῆς
379 πόλεως εἰσβεβληκότων. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίουν ὑπὲρ
τοῦ τῆς φήμης ἐμπεσούσης ἐπισχεῖν μὲν[1] τῶν
Γαλιλαίων τὰς ὁρμάς, διασῶσαι δὲ τὴν τῶν
Σεπφωριτῶν πόλιν. καὶ τέλος προυχώρησε τὸ
380 στρατήγημα· τῆς γὰρ ἀγγελίας ἀκούσαντες ἐφοβή-
θησαν ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν καὶ καταλιπόντες τὰς ἁρπαγὰς
ἔφευγον, μάλιστα δ' ἐπεὶ κἀμὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν
ἑώρων ταὐτὰ ποιοῦντα· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ πιστὸν τῆς
φήμης ἐσκηπτόμην ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς διατίθεσθαι.
Σεπφωρῖται δὲ παρ' ἐλπίδα τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ
ἐμοῦ σοφίσματος ἐσώθησαν.

garrison. Gallus promised to come, but named no date. Apprised of these negotiations, I marched with such troops as I had against Sepphoris and took the city by assault. The Galilaeans, seizing this opportunity, too good to be missed, of venting their hatred on one of the cities which they detested, rushed forward, with the intention of exterminating the population, aliens and all. Plunging into the town they set fire to the houses, which they found deserted, the terrified inhabitants having fled in a body to the citadel. They looted everything, sparing their countrymen no conceivable form of devastation. I was deeply distressed by this spectacle and ordered them to desist, reminding them that such treatment of one's compatriots was impious. As, however, they refused to listen to either remonstration or command, my exhortations being overborne by their hatred, I instructed some of my friends around me, on whom I could fully rely, to circulate a report that the Romans had made their way into another quarter of the city with a large force. I did this in order that, when the rumour reached their ears, I might check the fury of the Galilaeans and so save Sepphoris. The ruse was eventually successful; for on hearing the news they were in terror of their lives, and abandoned their spoils and fled. They were the more impelled to do so, when they saw me, their general, setting them the example; for, in order to lend colour to the rumour, I pretended to share their alarm. Thus were the Sepphorites, beyond their own expectations, saved by this device of mine from destruction.

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[1] Hudson: με MSS.

381 (68) Καὶ Τιβεριὰς δὲ παρ' ὀλίγον ἀνηρπάσθη ὑπὸ Γαλιλαίων τοιαύτης αἰτίας ὑποπεσούσης. τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ πρῶτοι γράφουσι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα παρακαλοῦντες ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς
382 παραληψόμενον τὴν πόλιν. ὑπέσχετο δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔρχεσθαι καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀντιγράφει καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν κοιτῶνά τινι, Κρίσπῳ μὲν τοὔνομα, τὸ δὲ γένος Ἰουδαίῳ, δίδωσι πρὸς τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς
383 φέρειν. τοῦτον κομίσαντα τὰ γράμματα γνωρίσαντες οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι καὶ συλλαβόντες ἄγουσιν ἐπ' ἐμέ· τὸ δὲ πᾶν πλῆθος, ὡς ἤκουσεν, παροξυνθὲν
384 ἐφ' ὅπλα τρέπεται. συναχθέντες δὲ πολλοὶ πανταχόθεν[1] κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἧκον εἰς Ἀσωχὶν πόλιν, ἔνθα δὴ τὴν κατάλυσιν ἐποιούμην, καταβοήσεις τε σφόδρα ἐποιοῦντο προδότιν ἀποκαλοῦντες τὴν Τιβεριάδα καὶ βασιλέως φίλην, ἐπιτρέπειν τε ἠξίουν αὐτοῖς καταβᾶσιν ἄρδην ἀφανίσαι· καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς εἶχον ἀπεχθῶς ὡς πρὸς τοὺς Σεπφωρίτας.

385 (69) Ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας ἠπόρουν τίνα τρόπον ἐξαρπάσω τὴν Τιβεριάδα τῆς Γαλιλαίων ὀργῆς. ἀρνήσασθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἐδυνάμην μὴ γεγραφέναι τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς καλοῦντας τὸν βασιλέα· ἤλεγχον γὰρ αἱ παρ' ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀντιγραφαὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν.
386 σύννους οὖν πολλὴν γενόμενος ὥραν, "ὅτι μὲν ἠδικήκασιν," εἶπον, "Τιβεριεῖς οἶδα κἀγώ, τὴν πόλιν δ' αὐτῶν ὑμᾶς οὐ κωλύσω διαρπάσαι. δεῖ δ' ὅμως καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως τὰ τηλικαῦτα πράττειν. οὐ γὰρ μόνοι Τιβεριεῖς προδόται τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἡμῶν γεγόνασιν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐν Γαλιλαίᾳ
387 δοκιμωτάτων. προσμείνατε δὴ μέχρι τοὺς αἰτίους ἀκριβῶς ἐκμάθω, καὶ τότε πάντας ὑποχειρίους

(68) Tiberias, likewise, had a narrow escape from being sacked by the Galilaeans. The occasion was as follows. The leading councillors had written to the king, inviting him to come and take over their city. The king promised to come, writing a letter in reply, which he handed to a Jew named Crispus, a groom of the bedchamber, to convey to the Tiberians. On his arrival with the letter he was recognized by the Galilaeans, who arrested him and brought him to me. The news created general indignation and all were up in arms. On the following day large numbers flocked together from all quarters to the town of Asochis [a] where I was then residing, loudly denouncing the Tiberians as traitors and friendly to the king, and requiring permission to go down and exterminate their city. For they had the same detestation for the Tiberians as for the inhabitants of Sepphoris.

Tiberias, making overtures to Agrippa, is in similar danger.

(69) On hearing this uproar, I was at a loss to discover means of rescuing Tiberias from the rage of the Galilaeans. I could not deny that the Tiberians had sent a written invitation to the king; for his letter in answer to them proved this to be a fact. So, after long and anxious reflection I said: "That the Tiberians have done wrong I am well aware, nor shall I forbid you to sack their city. Yet even such things must be done with discretion. The Tiberians are not the only persons who have betrayed our country's independence; many of the most eminent men in Galilee have done the same. Wait, therefore, until I have discovered exactly who are guilty, and

How Josephus saved it.

[a] *Cf.* §§ 207, 233.

[1] πολλαχόθεν PMW.

388 ἕξετε καὶ ὅσους ἰδίᾳ ἐπάξαι δυνήσεσθε." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἔπεισα τὸ πλῆθος καὶ παυσάμενοι τῆς ὀργῆς διελύθησαν. τὸν παρὰ βασιλέως δὲ πεμφθέντα δῆσαι κελεύσας, μετ' οὐ[1] πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐπί τινα τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ χρειῶν ἐπείγουσαν σκηψάμενος ἐκδημεῖν τῆς βασιλείας, καλέσας τὸν Κρίσπον λάθρα προσέταξα μεθύσαι τὸν στρατιώτην φύλακα καὶ
389 φυγεῖν πρὸς βασιλέα· μὴ γὰρ διωχθήσεσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῖς ὑποθήκαις πεισθεὶς διέφυγε, Τιβεριὰς δὲ μέλλουσα δεύτερον ἀφανίζεσθαι στρατηγίᾳ τῇ ἐμῇ καὶ προνοίᾳ τῇ περὶ αὐτῆς ὀξὺν οὕτως κίνδυνον διέφυγεν.

390 (70) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Ἰοῦστος ὁ Πίστου παῖς λαθὼν ἐμὲ διαδιδράσκει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· τὴν αἰτίαν δὲ δι' ἣν τοῦτ' ἔπραξεν ἀφ-
391 ηγήσομαι. λαβόντος ἀρχὴν Ἰουδαίοις τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου Τιβεριεῖς διεγνώκεισαν ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ καὶ Ῥωμαίων μὴ ἀφίστασθαι. πείθει δ' αὐτοὺς Ἰοῦστος ἐφ' ὅπλα χωρῆσαι, νεωτέρων αὐτὸς ἐφιέμενος πραγμάτων καὶ δι' ἐλπίδος ἔχων ἄρξειν Γαλιλαίων τε καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
392 πατρίδος. οὐ μὴν τῶν προσδοκηθέντων ἐπέτυχεν. Γαλιλαῖοί τε γὰρ ἐχθρῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς τοὺς Τιβεριεῖς διὰ μῆνιν ὧν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου πεπόνθεισαν, οὐκ ἠνείχοντο στρατηγοῦντος αὐτῶν
393 Ἰούστου, κἀγὼ δὲ τὴν προστασίαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας πιστευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πολλάκις εἰς τοσαύτην ἧκον ὀργὴν ὡς ὀλίγου δεῖν ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν Ἰοῦστον, φέρειν αὐτοῦ τὴν μοχθη-

[1] μετ' οὐ *ed. pr.*: μετὰ MSS.

[a] Tiberias now formed part of the "kingdom" of Agrippa II

then you shall have them all at your mercy, together with any whom you may be able to produce on your own account." With these words I pacified the crowd; their anger subsided and they dispersed. I gave orders to keep the king's messenger a prisoner, but, a few days later, pretending to be leaving the kingdom [a] on urgent business of my own, I summoned Crispus and gave him secret instructions to make the soldier who guarded him drunk and then escape to the king; assuring him that he would not be pursued. He acted on this hint and took himself off. Thus was Tiberias, when for the second time on the verge of destruction, delivered by my adroitness and considerate forethought from such imminent peril.

(70) It was about this time that Justus, son of Pistus, without my knowledge, absconded to the king. I will explain why he did so. On the outbreak of the war between the Jews and the Romans, the Tiberians had determined to maintain their allegiance to the king and not to revolt from Rome.[b] Justus endeavoured to persuade them to resort to arms, being personally anxious for revolution and having hopes of obtaining the command of Galilee and of his native place. In these expectations he was disappointed; for the Galilaeans, resenting the miseries which he had inflicted on them before the war,[c] were embittered against the Tiberians and would not tolerate him as their chief. Moreover, I myself, when entrusted by the general assembly at Jerusalem with the command of Galilee, was often so bitterly enraged with Justus that, unable to endure his

Justus goes over to Agrippa.

(*B.* ii. 252, *A.* xx. 159); Asochis, the headquarters of Josephus (§ 384), apparently did not.

[b] *Cf.* § 32 ff.

[c] *Cf.* § 341.

ρίαν οὐ δυνάμενος. δείσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος μὴ καὶ λάβῃ τέλος ἅπαξ ὁ θυμός, ἔπεμψε πρὸς βασιλέα Κρίσπον, [ὡς][1] ἀσφαλέστερον οἰκήσειν παρ᾽ ἐκείνῳ νομίζων.

394 (71) Σεπφωρῖται δὲ παραδόξως τὸν πρῶτον κίνδυνον διαφυγόντες πρὸς Κέστιον Γάλλον ἔπεμψαν ἥκειν παρακαλοῦντες ὡς αὐτοὺς θᾶττον παραληψόμενον τὴν πόλιν, ἢ πέμπειν δύναμιν τὴν ἀνακόψουσαν τὰς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομάς. καὶ τέλος ἔπεισαν τὸν Γάλλον πέμψαι δύναμιν αὐτοῖς ἱππικήν τε καὶ πεζικὴν πάνυ συχνήν, ἣν
395 ἐλθοῦσαν νυκτὸς εἰσεδέξαντο. κακουμένης δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς πέριξ χώρας ἀναλαβὼν ἐγὼ τοὺς περὶ ἐμὲ στρατιώτας ἧκον εἰς Γαρεὶς κώμην· ἔνθα βαλόμενος χάρακα πόρρω τῆς Σεπφωριτῶν πόλεως ἀπὸ σταδίων εἴκοσι, νυκτὸς ἔτι[2] αὐτῇ προσέμιξα καὶ τοῖς τείχεσι προσέβαλλον,
396 καὶ διὰ κλιμάκων ἐμβιβάσας συχνοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ πλείστου τῆς πόλεως μέρους ἐγενόμην. μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν τόπων ἄγνοιαν ἀναγκασθέντες ὑπεχωρήσαμεν, ἀνελόντες μὲν δυοκαίδεκα πεζοὺς[3] ὀλίγους δὲ Σεπφωριτῶν,
397 αὐτοὶ δ᾽ ἕνα μόνον ἀπεβάλομεν. γενομένης δ᾽ ὕστερον ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ πεδίον μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἱππεῖς μέχρι πολλοῦ καρτερῶς διακινδυνεύσαντες ἡττήθημεν· περιελθόντων γὰρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ δείσαντες ἔφυγον εἰς τοὐπίσω. πίπτει δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς παρατάξεως ἐκείνης εἷς τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὴν τοῦ σώματός μου φυλακήν, Ἰοῦστος τοὔνομα, καὶ παρὰ βασιλεῖ ποτὲ τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἐσχηκώς.

[1] Κρίσπον P, + ὡς R: κρεῖσσον (+ καὶ A) the rest.
[2] Niese: ἐπ᾽ mss.
[3] I retain the shorter text of P. The other mss., in a

villainy, I had almost killed him. Fearing, therefore, that my indignation might one day proceed to extremes, he sent overtures by Crispus to the king, in the hope of enjoying a life of greater security with him.

(71) The Sepphorites, after their unexpected escape from the first crisis,[a] dispatched a messenger to Cestius Gallus, requesting him either to come at once and take over the city, or to send sufficient troops to repel the incursions of the enemy. They eventually prevailed on him to send quite a large force of both cavalry and infantry, which arrived and was admitted under cover of night. The neighbourhood being now molested by the Roman troops, I proceeded with such soldiers as I had to the village of Garis, where I entrenched myself at a distance of twenty furlongs from Sepphoris. I then made a night attack upon it, and, assailing the walls, threw in a considerable number of my men by means of scaling-ladders and so became master of the greater part of the city. Our ignorance of the locality, however, compelled us before long to retire, after killing twelve of the infantry and a few Sepphorites, with the loss of only one of our own men. In a subsequent encounter with the cavalry in the plain we, after a long and stubborn resistance, were defeated; for, on being surrounded by the Romans, my men took alarm and fled. In that engagement I lost one of my bodyguard, named Justus, who had formerly served the king in the same capacity.

Sepphoris, on renewed application, obtains help from C. Gallus.

[a] § 373 ff.

variety of forms, which betrays the glossator, insert an unnecessary Ῥωμαίων and, unfamiliar with the form δυοκαίδεκα, expand the twelve infantry into two cavalry and ten infantry.

398 Κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἡ παρὰ βασιλέως δύναμις ἧκεν ἱππική τε καὶ πεζικὴ καὶ Σύλλας ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἡγεμών, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων. οὗτος οὖν βαλόμενος στρατόπεδον Ἰουλιάδος ἀπέχον σταδίους πέντε φρουρὰν ἐφίστησιν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, τῇ τε εἰς Σελεύκειαν[1] ἀγούσῃ καὶ τῇ εἰς Γάμαλα τὸ φρούριον, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰς παρὰ τῶν Γαλιλαίων ὠφελείας τοῖς ἐνοίκοις ἀποκλείειν.

399 (72) Ταῦτα δ' ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυθόμην πέμπω δισχιλίους ὁπλίτας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἱερεμίαν, οἳ δὴ καὶ χάρακα θέντες ἀπὸ σταδίου τῆς Ἰουλιάδος πλησίον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ πλέον ἀκροβολισμῶν οὐδὲν ἔπραξαν, μέχρι τρισχιλίους στρατιώτας αὐτὸς
400 ἀναλαβὼν ἧκον πρὸς αὐτούς. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἔν τινι φάραγγι καθίσας λόχον οὐκ ἄπωθεν αὐτῶν τοῦ χάρακος προεκαλούμην τοὺς βασιλικοὺς εἰς μάχην, παραινέσας τοῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ στρατιώταις στρέψαι τὰ νῶτα μέχρις ἂν ἐπισπάσωνται τοὺς πολεμίους προελθεῖν· ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο.
401 Σύλλας γὰρ εἰκάσας ταῖς ἀληθείαις τοὺς ἡμετέρους φεύγειν προελθὼν ἐπιδιώκειν οἷός τε ἦν, κατὰ νώτου δ' αὐτὸν λαμβάνουσιν οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας καὶ
402 σφόδρα πάντας ἐθορύβησαν. ἐγὼ δ' εὐθὺς ὀξείᾳ χρησάμενος ὑποστροφῇ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπήντησα[2] τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψα. κἂν κατώρθωτό μοι κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἡ πρᾶξις
403 μὴ ἐμποδὼν γενομένου δαίμονός τινος· ὁ γὰρ ἵππος ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν μάχην ἐποιούμην εἰς τελματώδη τόπον ἐμπεσὼν συγκατήνεγκέ με ἐπὶ τοὔδαφος, θραύσεως δὲ τῶν ἄρθρων γενομένης ἐπὶ τὸν ταρσὸν τῆς

[1] Κανᾶ MW. [2] ἀπήντησα P.

[a] *Cf.* § 381.

About this time reinforcements arrived from the king,[a] both horse and foot, under the command of Sulla, the captain of his bodyguard. He pitched his camp at a distance of five furlongs from Julias,[b] and put out pickets on the roads leading to Seleucia[c] and to the fortress of Gamala,[d] to prevent the inhabitants [of Julias] from obtaining supplies from Galilee.

Arrival of Agrippa's troops under Sulla.

(72) On receiving intelligence of this, I dispatched a force of two thousand men under the command of Jeremiah, who entrenched themselves a furlong away from Julias close to the river Jordan, but took no action beyond skirmishing until I joined them with supports, three thousand strong. The next day, after laying an ambuscade in a ravine not far from their earthworks, I offered battle to the royal troops, directing my division to retire until they had lured the enemy forward; as actually happened. Sulla, supposing that our men were really flying, advanced and was on the point of following in pursuit, when the others, emerging from their ambush, took him in the rear and threw his whole force into the utmost disorder. Instantly wheeling the main body about, I charged and routed the royalists; and my success on that day would have been complete, had I not been thwarted by some evil genius. The horse on which I went into action stumbled on a marshy spot and brought me with him to the ground. Having fractured some bones in the wrist, I was carried to a

Josephus's encounter with the "royalists."

His fall from his horse.

[b] Bethsaida Julias (*et-Tell*) at the northern extremity of the Lake of Gennesaret, E. of the Jordan.
[c] *Selukiyeh*, N.E. of Julias.
[d] Probably identified on the E. side of the Lake of Gennesaret, *i.e.* S. of Julias.

χειρός, ἐκομίσθην εἰς κώμην Κεφαρνωκὸν λεγο-
404 μένην. οἱ δ' ἐμοὶ[1] ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες καὶ δεδοικότες μή τι χεῖρον ἔπαθον, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ πλέον διώξεως ἀπέσχοντο, ὑπέστρεφον δὲ περὶ ἐμὲ λίαν ἀγωνιῶντες. μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν ἰατροὺς καὶ θεραπευθεὶς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ κατέμεινα πυρέξας, δόξαν τε τοῖς ἰατροῖς τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς Ταριχαίας μετεκομίσθην.

405 (73) Σύλλας δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ πυθόμενοι τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ πάλιν ἐθάρρησαν, καὶ γνόντες ἀμελεῖσθαι τὰ περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, διὰ νυκτὸς ἱππέων λόχον ἱδρύσαντες ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, γενομένης ἡμέρας εἰς μάχην ἡμᾶς προ-
406 εκαλέσαντο. τῶν δ' ὑπακουσάντων καὶ μέχρι τοῦ πεδίου προελθόντων ἐπιφανέντες οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἱππεῖς καὶ ταράξαντες αὐτοὺς εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν, ἕξ τε τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπέκτειναν. οὐ μὴν μέχρι τέλους τὴν νίκην ἤγαγον· καταπεπλευκέναι γάρ τινας ὁπλίτας ἀκούσαντες ἀπὸ Ταριχαιῶν εἰς Ἰουλιάδα φοβηθέντες ἀνεχώρησαν.

407 (74) Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον Οὐεσπασιανὸς εἰς Τύρον ἀφικνεῖται καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας. καὶ οἱ Τύριοι βλασφημεῖν ἤρξαντο τὸν βασιλέα, Τυρίων[2] αὐτὸν καλοῦντες καὶ Ῥωμαίων πολέμιον· τὸν γὰρ στρατοπεδάρχην αὐτοῦ Φίλιππον ἔλεγον προδεδωκέναι τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τὰς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεις τὰς οὔσας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις
408 κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόσταξιν. Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἀκούσας Τυρίοις μὲν ἐπέπληξεν ὑβρίζουσιν ἄνδρα καὶ βασιλέα καὶ Ῥωμαίοις φίλον, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ παρῄνεσεν πέμψαι Φίλιππον εἰς Ῥώμην ὑφέξοντα

village called Cephamocus.[a] My men, hearing of this, and fearing that a worse fate had befallen me, desisted from further pursuit and returned in the deepest anxiety on my account. I sent for physicians and, after receiving their attention, remained there for that day in a feverish condition; at night, under medical advice, I was removed to Tarichaeae.

(73) Sulla and his troops, learning of my accident, again took heart; and, finding that the watch kept in our camp was slack, placed, under cover of night, a squadron of cavalry in ambush beyond the Jordan, and at daybreak offered us battle. Accepting the challenge, my troops advanced into the plain, when the cavalry, suddenly appearing from their ambush, threw them into disorder and routed them, killing six of our men. They did not, however, follow up their success; for, on hearing that reinforcements shipped at Tarichaeae had reached Julias, they retired in alarm.

(74) Not long after this Vespasian arrived at Tyre, accompanied by King Agrippa. The king was met by the invectives of the citizens, who denounced him as an enemy of their own and of the Romans; because, as they asserted, Philip,[b] his commander-in-chief, had, under orders from him, betrayed the royal palace and the Roman forces in Jerusalem. Vespasian, having heard them, reprimanded the Tyrians for insulting one who was at once a king and an ally of the Romans; at the same time advising the king to send Philip to Rome to render an

Arrival of Vespasian. A.D. 67, spring.

[a] Or "Capharnomon"; the name takes divergent forms in the MSS. Capernaum is doubtless meant.

[b] *Cf.* §§ 46 ff., 179 ff.

[1] P omits ἐμοί, reading οἱ δέ. [2] Τύριον MSS.

409 λόγον Νέρωνι περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων. Φίλιππος δὲ πεμφθεὶς οὐχ ἧκεν εἰς ὄψιν Νέρωνι· καταλαβὼν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ὄντα διὰ τὰς ἐμπεσούσας ταραχὰς καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ὑπέστρεψε πρὸς
410 τὸν βασιλέα. ἐπεὶ δὲ Οὐεσπασιανὸς εἰς Πτολεμαΐδα παρεγένετο, οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν τῆς Συρίας Δεκαπόλεως κατεβόων Ἰούστου τοῦ Τιβεριέως, ὅτι τὰς κώμας αὐτῶν ἐμπρήσειεν. παρέδωκεν οὖν αὐτὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ κολασθησόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς βασιλείας ὑποτελῶν· ὁ βασιλεὺς δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔδησεν, ἐπικρυψάμενος τοῦτο Οὐεσπασιανόν, ὡς
411 ἀνωτέρω δεδηλώκαμεν. Σεπφωρῖται δ᾽ ὑπαντήσαντες καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι Οὐεσπασιανὸν λαμβάνουσι δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν Πλάκιδον, ἀναβάντες δὲ μετὰ τούτων . . .[1] ἑπομένου μου ἄχρι τῆς εἰς
412 Γαλιλαίαν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἀφίξεως. περὶ ἧς τίνα τρόπον ἐγένετο, καὶ πῶς περὶ Γάρις[2] κώμην τὴν πρώτην πρὸς ἐμὲ μάχην ἐποιήσατο,[3] καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὰ Ἰωτάπατα ἀνεχώρησα, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα μοι κατὰ τὴν ταύτης πολιορκίαν, καὶ ὃν τρόπον ζῶν ληφθεὶς ἐδέθην, καὶ πῶς ἐλύθην, πάντα τε τὰ πεπραγμένα μοι κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίαν μετ᾽ ἀκριβείας ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου βίβλοις ἀπ-
413 ήγγελκα. ἀναγκαῖον δ᾽ ἐστίν, ὡς οἶμαι, καὶ ὅσα μὴ κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν πόλεμον ἀνέγραψα τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ μου πεπραγμένων νῦν προσαναγράψαι.

414 (75) Τῆς γὰρ τῶν Ἰωταπάτων πολιορκίας λαβούσης τέλος γενόμενος παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἐφυλασσόμην, τὰ πολλὰ διὰ

account of his actions to Nero. Thither, accordingly, Philip was dispatched, but never had audience of Nero, whom he found in extremities owing to the prevailing disorders and the civil war, and so returned to the king.

On reaching Ptolemais, Vespasian received indignant remonstrances from the chief men of the Syrian Decapolis against Justus of Tiberias for setting fire to their villages. Vespasian handed him over to the king for execution by the subjects of his realm. The king, however, merely detained him in prison, concealing this from Vespasian, as previously narrated.[a]

The reader referred to the *Jewish War* for subsequent history.

The Sepphorites, who met and saluted Vespasian, were given a garrison under the command of Placidus. With this force they proceeded into the interior, being closely followed by me until Vespasian's arrival in Galilee. Of the manner of his arrival and of his first engagement with me in the neighbourhood of the village of Garis; of my withdrawal from there to Jotapata and my conduct during the siege of that place; of my capture, imprisonment, and subsequent liberation; of my conduct throughout the whole campaign and at the siege of Jerusalem, I have given a detailed description in my books on the Jewish War. It is, however, I think, incumbent upon me now to append an account of such particulars of my life as were not recorded in my earlier work.

After the war. A.D. 67.

(75) After the siege of Jotapata I was in the hands of the Romans and was kept under guard, while receiving every attention. Vespasian showed in

[a] *Cf.* §§ 341-3.

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[1] Lacuna in text.

[2] Τάρις (Ταριχέας) MSS.: *B.* iii. 129 supplies the correct name.

[3] ἐποιήσαντο PRA.

τιμῆς ἄγοντος με Οὐεσπασιανοῦ. καὶ δὴ κελεύ-
σαντος αὐτοῦ ἠγαγόμην τινὰ παρθένον ἐκ τῶν
αἰχμαλωτίδων τῶν κατὰ Καισάρειαν ἁλουσῶν
415 ἐγχώριον· οὐ παρέμενεν δ' αὕτη μοι πολὺν χρόνον,
ἀλλὰ λυθέντος καὶ μετὰ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ πορευθέντος
εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπηλλάγη.[1] γυναῖκα δ'
416 ἑτέραν ἠγαγόμην κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. κἀκεῖ-
θεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίαν συμπεμφθεὶς
Τίτῳ πολλάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἐκινδύνευσα, τῶν τε Ἰου-
δαίων διὰ σπουδῆς ἐχόντων ὑποχείριόν με λαβεῖν
τιμωρίας ἕνεκα, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὁσάκι νικηθεῖεν
πάσχειν τοῦτο κατ' ἐμὴν προδοσίαν δοκούντων
συνεχεῖς καταβοήσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐγί-
νοντο, κολάζειν με ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν προδότην ἀξιούν-
417 των. Τίτος δὲ Καῖσαρ τὰς πολέμου τύχας οὐκ
ἀγνοῶν σιγῇ τὰς ἐπ' ἐμὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξέλυεν
ὁρμάς. ἤδη δὲ κατὰ κράτος τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσο-
λυμιτῶν πόλεως ἐχομένης Τίτος Καῖσαρ ἔπειθέν
με πολλάκις ἐκ τῆς κατασκαφῆς τῆς πατρίδος πᾶν
ὅ τι θέλοιμι λαβεῖν· συγχωρεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν.
418 ἐγὼ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος πεσούσης μηδὲν ἔχων τιμιώ-
τερον, ὃ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ συμφορῶν εἰς παραμυθίαν
λαβὼν φυλάξαιμι, σωμάτων ἐλευθέρων τὴν αἴτησιν
ἐποιούμην Τίτον καὶ βιβλίων ἱερῶν . . .[2] ἔλαβον
419 χαρισαμένου Τίτου. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸν
ἀδελφὸν μετὰ πεντήκοντα φίλων αἰτησάμενος οὐκ
ἀπέτυχον. καὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν δὲ πορευθεὶς Τίτου
τὴν ἐξουσίαν δόντος, ἔνθα πολὺ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων
ἐγκέκλειστο γυναικῶν τε καὶ τέκνων, ὅσους
ἐπέγνων φίλων ἐμῶν καὶ συνήθων ὑπάρχοντας

[1] So *ed. pr.*: ἀπηλλάγην MSS.
[2] Apparent lacuna: Bekker inserts καὶ.

many ways the honour in which he held me, and it was by his command that I married one of the women taken captive at Caesarea, a virgin and a native of that place. She did not, however, remain long with me, for she left me on my obtaining my release and accompanying Vespasian to Alexandria. There I married again. From Alexandria I was sent with Titus to the siege of Jerusalem, where my life was A.D. 70. frequently in danger, both from the Jews, who were eager to get me into their hands, to gratify their revenge, and from the Romans, who attributed every reverse to some treachery on my part, and were constantly and clamorously demanding of the Emperor that he should punish me as their betrayer. Titus Caesar, however, knowing well the varying fortunes of war, repressed by his silence the soldiers' outbursts against me.

Again, when at last Jerusalem was on the point of being carried by assault, Titus Caesar repeatedly urged me to take whatever I would from the wreck of my country, stating that I had his permission. And I, now that my native place had fallen, having nothing more precious to take and preserve as a solace for my personal misfortunes, made request to Titus for the freedom of some of my countrymen; I also received by his gracious favour a gift of sacred books. Not long after I made petition for my brother and fifty friends, and my request was granted. Again, by permission of Titus, I entered the Temple, where a great multitude of captive women and children had been imprisoned, and liberated all the friends and acquaintances whom I recognized, in

ἐρυσάμην, περὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ὄντας τὸν
ἀριθμόν, καὶ οὐδὲ λύτρα καταθεμένους ἀπέλυσα
420 συγχωρήσας αὐτοὺς τῇ προτέρᾳ τύχῃ. πεμφθεὶς δ'
ὑπὸ Τίτου Καίσαρος σὺν Κερεαλίῳ καὶ χιλίοις
ἱππεῦσιν εἰς κώμην τινὰ Θεκῶαν λεγομένην
προκατανοήσων εἰ τόπος ἐπιτήδειός ἐστιν χάρακα
δέξασθαι, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ὑποστρέφων εἶδον πολλοὺς
αἰχμαλώτους ἀνεσταυρωμένους καὶ τρεῖς ἐγνώρισα
συνήθεις μοι γενομένους, ἤλγησά τε τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ
421 μετὰ δακρύων προσελθὼν Τίτῳ εἶπον. ὁ δ' εὐθὺς
ἐκέλευσεν καθαιρεθέντας αὐτοὺς θεραπείας ἐπι-
μελεστάτης τυχεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν δύο τελευτῶσιν
θεραπευόμενοι, ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἔζησεν.
422 (76) Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπαυσεν τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ
ταραχὰς Τίτος, εἰκάσας τοὺς ἀγροὺς οὓς εἶχον ἐν
τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνονήτους ἐσομένους μοι διὰ
τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐκεῖ Ῥωμαίων φρουρὰν ἐγκαθ-
έζεσθαι, ἔδωκεν ἑτέραν χώραν ἐν πεδίῳ· μέλλων τε
ἀπαίρειν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην σύμπλουν ἐδέξατο πᾶσαν
423 τιμὴν ἀπονέμων. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἥκομεν,
πολλῆς ἔτυχον παρὰ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ προνοίας· καὶ
γὰρ καὶ κατάλυσιν ἔδωκεν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ πρὸ τῆς
ἡγεμονίας αὐτῷ γενομένῃ, πολιτείᾳ τε Ῥωμαίων
ἐτίμησεν καὶ σύνταξιν χρημάτων ἔδωκεν, καὶ
τιμῶν διετέλει μέχρι τῆς ἐκ τοῦ βίου μεταστάσεως
οὐδὲν τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ χρηστότητος ὑφελών· ὅ μοι
424 διὰ τὸν φθόνον ἤνεγκε κίνδυνον. Ἰουδαῖος γάρ τις,
Ἰωνάθης τοὔνομα, στάσιν ἐξεγείρας ἐν Κυρήνῃ καὶ

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[a] Meaning doubtful. Traill renders: "paying that compliment to their former fortune."

number about a hundred and ninety; I took no ransom for their release and restored them to [a] their former fortune. Once more, when I was sent by Titus Caesar with Cerealius and a thousand horse to a village called Tekoa,[b] to prospect whether it was a suitable place for an entrenched camp, and on my return saw many prisoners who had been crucified, and recognized three of my acquaintances among them, I was cut to the heart and came and told Titus with tears what I had seen. He gave orders immediately that they should be taken down and receive the most careful treatment. Two of them died in the physicians' hands; the third survived.

(76) When Titus had quelled the disturbances in Judaea, conjecturing that the lands which I held at Jerusalem would be unprofitable to me, because a Roman garrison was to be quartered there, he gave me another parcel of ground in the plain. On his departure for Rome, he took me with him on board, treating me with every mark of respect. On our arrival in Rome I met with great consideration from Vespasian. He gave me a lodging in the house which he had occupied before he became Emperor; he honoured me with the privilege of Roman citizenship; and he assigned me a pension. He continued to honour me up to the time of his departure from this life, without any abatement in his kindness towards me.

Josephus as Roman citizen.

My privileged position excited envy and thereby exposed me to danger. A certain Jew,[c] named Jonathan, who had promoted an insurrection in

[b] The birth-place of Amos, some twelve miles S. of Jerusalem.

[c] *Cf. B.* vii. 437-450 (Jonathan is tortured and burnt alive).

δισχιλίους τῶν ἐγχωρίων συναναπείσας ἐκείνοις
μὲν αἴτιος ἀπωλείας ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς
χώρας ἡγεμονεύοντος δεθεὶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοκρά-
τορα πεμφθεὶς ἔφασκεν ἐμὲ αὐτῷ ὅπλα πεπομφέναι
425 καὶ χρήματα. οὐ μὴν Οὐεσπασιανὸν ψευδόμενος
ἔλαθεν, ἀλλὰ κατέγνω θάνατον αὐτοῦ, καὶ παρα-
δοθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
τῶν βασκαινόντων μοι τῆς εὐτυχίας κατηγορίας
ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ συνθέντων θεοῦ προνοίᾳ πάσας διέφυγον.
ἔλαβον δὲ παρὰ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ δωρεὰν γῆν οὐκ
426 ὀλίγην ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ. καθ᾽ ὃν δὴ καιρὸν καὶ τὴν
γυναῖκα μὴ ἀρεσκόμενος αὐτῆς τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀπ-
επεμψάμην, τριῶν παίδων γενομένην μητέρα, ὧν οἱ
μὲν δύο ἐτελεύτησαν, εἷς δὲ ὃν Ὑρκανὸν προσηγό-
427 ρευσα περίεστιν. μετὰ ταῦτα ἠγαγόμην γυναῖκα
κατῳκηκυῖαν μὲν ἐν Κρήτῃ, τὸ δὲ γένος Ἰουδαίαν,
γονέων εὐγενεστάτων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν
ἐπιφανεστάτων, ἤθει πολλῶν γυναικῶν διαφέ-
ρουσαν, ὡς ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα βίος αὐτῆς ἀπέδειξεν.
ἐκ ταύτης δή μοι γίνονται παῖδες δύο, πρεσβύτερος
μὲν Ἰοῦστος, Σιμωνίδης δὲ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον, ὁ καὶ
428 Ἀγρίππας ἐπικληθείς. ταῦτα μέν μοι τὰ κατὰ
τὸν οἶκον.

Διέμεινεν δὲ ὅμοια καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοκρα-
τόρων. Οὐεσπασιανοῦ γὰρ τελευτήσαντος Τίτος
τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος ὁμοίαν τῷ πατρὶ τὴν
τιμήν μοι διεφύλαξεν, πολλάκις τε κατηγορηθέντος
429 οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν. διαδεξάμενος δὲ Τίτον Δομετιανὸς
καὶ προσηύξησεν τὰς εἰς ἐμὲ τιμάς· τούς τε γὰρ
κατηγορήσαντάς μου Ἰουδαίους ἐκόλασεν καὶ
δοῦλον εὐνοῦχον, παιδαγωγὸν τοῦ παιδός μου,
κατηγορήσαντα κολασθῆναι προσέταξεν, ἐμοὶ δὲ

Cyrene, occasioning the destruction of two thousand of the natives, whom he had induced to join him, on being sent in chains by the governor of the district to the Emperor, asserted that I had provided him with arms and money. Undeceived by this mendacious statement, Vespasian condemned him to death, and he was delivered over to execution. Subsequently, numerous accusations against me were fabricated by persons who envied me my good fortune; but, by the providence of God, I came safe through all. Vespasian also presented me with a considerable tract of land in Judaea.

At this period I divorced my wife, being displeased at her behaviour. She had borne me three children, of whom two died; one, whom I named Hyrcanus, is still alive. Afterwards I married a woman of Jewish extraction who had settled in Crete. She came of very distinguished parents, indeed the most notable people in that country. In character she surpassed many of her sex, as her subsequent life showed. By her I had two sons, Justus the elder, and then Simonides, surnamed Agrippa. Such is my domestic history. Domestic history.

The treatment which I received from the Emperors continued unaltered. On Vespasian's decease Titus, A.D. 79. who succeeded to the empire, showed the same esteem for me as did his father, and never credited the accusations to which I was constantly subjected. Domitian succeeded Titus and added to my honours. A.D. 81. He punished my Jewish accusers, and for a similar offence gave orders for the chastisement of a slave, a eunuch and my son's tutor. He also exempted my

τῆς ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ χώρας ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκεν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ μεγίστη τιμὴ τῷ λαβόντι. καὶ πολλὰ δ' ἡ τοῦ Καίσαρος γυνὴ Δομετία διετέλεσεν εὐεργετοῦσά με.

430 Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ πεπραγμένα μοι διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου ἐστίν, κρινέτωσαν δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸ ἦθος ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλωσιν ἕτεροι. σοὶ δ' ἀποδεδωκώς, κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν Ἐπαφρόδιτε, τὴν πᾶσαν τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας ἀναγραφὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐνταῦθα καταπαύω τὸν λόγον.

property in Judaea from taxation—a mark of the highest honour to the privileged individual. Moreover, Domitia, Caesar's wife, never ceased conferring favours upon me.

Such are the events of my whole life ; from them let others judge as they will of my character.

Having now, most excellent Epaphroditus, rendered you a complete account of our antiquities,[a] I shall here for the present conclude my narrative.

[a] The *Life* (at least in its final edition) formed an appendix to the *Antiquities*. See *Ant.* xx. 266, with Introduction to this volume, p. xiii.

AGAINST APION

OR

ON THE ANTIQUITY OF THE JEWS

CONTRA APIONEM

ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ

ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΣ

1 (1) Ἱκανῶς μὲν ὑπολαμβάνω καὶ διὰ τῆς περὶ
τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν συγγραφῆς, κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν Ἐπ-
αφρόδιτε, τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις αὐτῇ πεποιηκέναι φα-
νερὸν περὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅτι
καὶ παλαιότατόν ἐστι καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὑπόστασιν
ἔσχεν ἰδίαν, καὶ πῶς τὴν χώραν ἣν νῦν ἔχομεν
κατῴκησεν· <ἦν>[1] πεντακισχιλίων ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν
ἱστορίαν περιέχουσαν ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἱερῶν
βίβλων διὰ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς φωνῆς συνεγραψάμην.
2 ἐπεὶ δὲ συχνοὺς ὁρῶ ταῖς ὑπὸ δυσμενείας ὑπό
τινων εἰρημέναις προσέχοντας βλασφημίαις καὶ
τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγραμμένοις
ἀπιστοῦντας τεκμήριόν τε ποιουμένους τοῦ νεώ-
τερον εἶναι τὸ γένος ἡμῶν τὸ μηδεμιᾶς παρὰ τοῖς
ἐπιφανέσι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστοριογράφων μνήμης
3 ἠξιῶσθαι, περὶ τούτων ἁπάντων ᾠήθην δεῖν
γράψαι συντόμως, τῶν[2] μὲν λοιδορούντων τὴν
δυσμένειαν καὶ τὴν ἑκούσιον ἐλέγξαι ψευδολογίαν,
τῶν δὲ τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἐπανορθώσασθαι, διδάξαι

[1] κατῴκησε L: ἦν added in *ed. pr.*
[2] καὶ τῶν (with Lat.) Bekker.

AGAINST APION

OR ON THE ANTIQUITY OF THE JEWS

BOOK I

Occasion and plan of the work. Anti-semite critics of the *Antiquities*.

(1) In my history of our *Antiquities*, most excellent Epaphroditus, I have, I think, made sufficiently clear to any who may peruse that work the extreme antiquity of our Jewish race, the purity of the original stock, and the manner in which it established itself in the country which we occupy to-day. That history embraces a period of five thousand years,[a] and was written by me in Greek on the basis of our sacred books. Since, however, I observe that a considerable number of persons, influenced by the malicious calumnies of certain individuals, discredit the statements in my history concerning our antiquity, and adduce as proof of the comparative modernity of our race the fact that it has not been thought worthy of mention by the best known Greek historians, I consider it my duty to devote a brief treatise to all these points; in order at once to convict our detractors of malignity and deliberate falsehood, to correct the ignorance of others, and to

[a] The same round number in *A.* i. 13.

δὲ πάντας ὅσοι τἀληθὲς εἰδέναι βούλονται περὶ
4 τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχαιότητος. χρήσομαι δὲ τῶν μὲν
ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγομένων μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀξιοπιστοτάτοις
εἶναι περὶ πάσης ἀρχαιολογίας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
κεκριμένοις, τοὺς δὲ βλασφήμως περὶ ἡμῶν καὶ
ψευδῶς γεγραφότας αὐτοὺς δι' ἑαυτῶν ἐλεγχο-
5 μένους παρέξω. πειράσομαι δὲ καὶ τὰς αἰτίας
ἀποδοῦναι, δι' ἃς οὐ πολλοὶ τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν ἐν
ταῖς ἱστορίαις Ἕλληνες ἐμνημονεύκασιν. ἔτι μέντοι
καὶ τοὺς οὐ παραλιπόντας τὴν περὶ ἡμῶν ἱστορίαν
ποιήσω φανεροὺς τοῖς μὴ γιγνώσκουσιν ἢ προσ-
ποιουμένοις ἀγνοεῖν.

6 (2) Πρῶτον οὖν ἐπέρχεταί μοι πάνυ θαυμάζειν τοὺς
οἰομένους δεῖν περὶ τῶν παλαιοτάτων ἔργων
μόνοις προσέχειν τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ παρὰ τούτων
πυνθάνεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
ἀνθρώποις ἀπιστεῖν. πᾶν γὰρ ἐγὼ τοὐναντίον ὁρῶ
συμβεβηκός, εἴ γε δεῖ μὴ ταῖς ματαίαις δόξαις
ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸ δίκαιον τῶν
7 πραγμάτων λαμβάνειν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς
Ἕλλησιν ἅπαντα νέα καὶ χθὲς καὶ πρῴην, ὡς ἂν
εἴποι τις, εὕροι[1] γεγονότα, λέγω δὲ τὰς κτίσεις
τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐπινοίας τῶν τεχνῶν
καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς τῶν νόμων ἀναγραφάς· πάντων δὲ
νεωτάτη σχεδόν ἐστι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ περὶ τοῦ
8 συγγράφειν τὰς ἱστορίας ἐπιμέλεια. τὰ μέντοι
παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις τε καὶ Χαλδαίοις καὶ Φοίνιξιν,
ἐῶ γὰρ νῦν ἡμᾶς ἐκείνοις συγκαταλέγειν, αὐτοὶ

[1] *cognovi* (εὗρον ?) Lat.

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[a] Josephus in this and the following sections (note the reference to "catastrophes" in § 10) borrows from Plato,

instruct all who desire to know the truth concerning the antiquity of our race. As witnesses to my statements I propose to call the writers who, in the estimation of the Greeks, are the most trustworthy authorities on antiquity as a whole. The authors of scurrilous and mendacious statements about us will be shown to be confuted by themselves. I shall further endeavour to set out the various reasons which explain why our nation is mentioned by a few only of the Greek historians; at the same time I shall bring those authors who have not neglected our history to the notice of any who either are, or feign to be, ignorant of them.

(2) My first thought is one of intense astonishment at the current opinion that, in the study of primeval history, the Greeks alone deserve serious attention, that the truth should be sought from them, and that neither we nor any others in the world are to be trusted. In my view the very reverse of this is the case, if, that is to say, we are not to take idle prejudices as our guide, but to extract the truth from the facts themselves. For in the Greek world everything will be found to be modern,[a] and dating, so to speak, from yesterday or the day before: I refer to the foundation of their cities, the invention of the arts, and the compilation of a code of laws; but the most recent, or nearly the most recent, of all their attainments is care in historical composition. On the contrary, as is admitted even by themselves, the Egyptians, the Chaldaeans, and the Phoenicians —for the moment I omit to add our nation to the

The Greeks untrustworthy as antiquarians.

Timaeus, 22 B and C, where an Egyptian priest discourses to Solon in similar terms on the modernity of the Greeks. *Cf. Ap.* ii. 192, 224 for other parallels to that dialogue.

δήπουθεν ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀρχαιοτάτην τε καὶ μονιμω-
9 τάτην ἔχειν τῆς μνήμης τὴν παράδοσιν· καὶ γὰρ τόπους ἅπαντες οἰκοῦσιν ἥκιστα ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος φθοραῖς ὑποκειμένους καὶ πολλὴν ἐποιήσαντο πρόνοιαν τοῦ μηδὲν ἄμνηστον τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς πραττομένων παραλιπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν δημοσίαις ἀναγραφαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν σοφωτάτων ἀεὶ καθιεροῦσθαι.
10 τὸν δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόπον μυρίαι μὲν φθοραὶ κατέσχον ἐξαλείφουσαι τὴν μνήμην τῶν γεγονότων, ἀεὶ δὲ καινοὺς καθιστάμενοι βίους τοῦ παντὸς ἐνόμιζον ἄρχειν ἕκαστοι τὸν[1] ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν, ὀψὲ δὲ καὶ μόλις ἔγνωσαν φύσιν γραμμάτων. οἱ γοῦν ἀρχαιοτάτην αὐτῶν τὴν χρῆσιν εἶναι θέλοντες παρὰ Φοινίκων καὶ Κάδμου σεμνύνονται μαθεῖν.
11 οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἀπ'[2] ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου δύναιτό τις ἂν δεῖξαι σωζομένην ἀναγραφὴν οὔτ' ἐν ἱεροῖς οὔτ' ἐν δημοσίοις ἀναθήμασιν, ὅπου γε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν τοσούτοις ἔτεσι στρατευσάντων ὕστερον πολλὴ γέγονεν ἀπορία τε καὶ ζήτησις, εἰ γράμμασιν ἐχρῶντο, καὶ τἀληθὲς ἐπικρατεῖ μᾶλλον περὶ τοῦ τὴν νῦν οὖσαν τῶν γραμμάτων
12 χρῆσιν ἐκείνους ἀγνοεῖν. ὅλως δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὐδὲν ὁμολογούμενον εὑρίσκεται γράμμα τῆς Ὁμήρου ποιήσεως πρεσβύτερον, οὗτος δὲ καὶ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ὕστερος φαίνεται γενόμενος, καί φασιν οὐδὲ τοῦτον ἐν γράμμασι τὴν αὑτοῦ ποίησιν καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαμνημονευομένην ἐκ τῶν ᾀσμάτων ὕστερον συντεθῆναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο

[1] So Eus. (one MS.): τῶν L. [2] Eus.: ἐπ' L Lat.

[a] Perhaps referring to stories of the floods of Ogyges and Deucalion, etc.

[b] *Cf.*, *e.g.*, Herod. v. 58.

list—possess a very ancient and permanent record of the past. For all these nations inhabit countries which are least exposed to the ravages of the atmosphere, and they have been very careful to let none of the events in their history be forgotten, but always to have them enshrined in official records written by their greatest sages. The land of Greece, on the contrary, has experienced countless catastrophes,[a] which have obliterated the memory of the past; and as one civilization succeeded another the men of each epoch believed that the world began with them. They were late in learning the alphabet and found the lesson difficult; for those who would assign the earliest date to its use pride themselves on having learnt it from the Phoenicians and Cadmus.[b] Even of that date no record, preserved either in temples or on public monuments, could now be produced; seeing that it is a highly controversial and disputed question whether even those who took part in the Trojan campaign so many years later made use of letters,[c] and the true and prevalent view is rather that they were ignorant of the present-day mode of writing. Throughout the whole range of Greek literature no undisputed work is found more ancient than the poetry of Homer. His date, however, is clearly later than the Trojan war; and even he, they say, did not leave his poems in writing. At first transmitted by memory, the scattered songs were not united until later; to which circumstance

[a] Allusion to the debated interpretation of the phrase σήματα λυγρά, "baneful tokens" (Hom. *Il.* vi. 168); referring to a message intended to bring about the death of Bellerophon. "The balance of probabilities seems to be in favour of the view that" the words "denote some kind of alphabetic or syllabic writing" (Jebb, *Homer*, 1887, p. 112).

13 πολλὰς ἐν αὐτῇ σχεῖν τὰς διαφωνίας. οἱ μέντοι
τὰς ἱστορίας ἐπιχειρήσαντες συγγράφειν παρ' αὐ-
τοῖς, λέγω δὲ τοὺς περὶ Κάδμον τε τὸν Μιλήσιον
καὶ τὸν Ἀργεῖον Ἀκουσίλαον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον εἴ
τινες ἄλλοι λέγονται γενέσθαι, βραχὺ τῆς Περσῶν
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατείας τῷ χρόνῳ προὔλαβον.
14 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων τε καὶ θείων
πρώτους παρ' Ἕλλησι φιλοσοφήσαντας, οἷον Φερε-
κύδην τε τὸν Σύριον καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Θάλητα,
πάντες συμφώνως ὁμολογοῦσιν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ
Χαλδαίων γενομένους μαθητὰς ὀλίγα συγγράψαι,
καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἶναι δοκεῖ πάντων
ἀρχαιότατα καὶ μόλις αὐτὰ πιστεύουσιν ὑπ'
ἐκείνων γεγράφθαι.
15 (3) Πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλογον τετυφῶσθαι τοὺς
Ἕλληνας ὡς μόνους ἐπισταμένους τἀρχαῖα καὶ
τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς παραδιδόντας;
ἢ τίς οὐ παρ' αὐτῶν ἂν τῶν συγγραφέων μάθοι
ῥᾳδίως, ὅτι μηδὲ ἓν βεβαίως εἰδότες συνέγραφον,
ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἴκαζον;
τὸ[1] πλέον γοῦν διὰ τῶν βιβλίων ἀλλήλους ἐλέγ-
χουσι καὶ τἀναντιώτατα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγειν
16 οὐκ ὀκνοῦσι. περίεργος δ' ἂν εἴην ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐμοῦ
μᾶλλον ἐπισταμένους διδάσκων ὅσα μὲν Ἑλλάνικος
Ἀκουσιλάῳ περὶ τῶν γενεαλογιῶν διαπεφώνηκεν,
ὅσα δὲ διορθοῦται τὸν Ἡσίοδον Ἀκουσίλαος, ἢ
τίνα τρόπον Ἔφορος μὲν Ἑλλάνικον ἐν τοῖς
πλείστοις ψευδόμενον ἐπιδείκνυσιν, Ἔφορον δὲ

[1] εἴκαζον; τὸ Gutschmid: εἰκάζοιντο L.

[a] This is one of the passages on which Wolf relied in his epoch-making *Prolegomena* (1795).

[b] *i.e.*, the phenomena of the heavenly bodies.

[c] Of Mitylene, 5th cent. B.C., a contemporary of Herodotus.

the numerous inconsistencies of the work are attributable.[a] Again, the Greeks who [first] essayed to write history, such as Cadmus of Miletus and Acusilaus of Argos and any later writers who are mentioned, lived but a short time before the Persian invasion of Greece. Once more, the first Greek philosophers to treat of celestial[b] and divine subjects, such as Pherecydes of Syros, Pythagoras, and Thales, were, as the world unanimously admits, in their scanty productions the disciples of the Egyptians and Chaldaeans. These are the writings which the Greeks regard as the oldest of all, and they are sceptical even about their authenticity. 6th cent. B.C.

(3) Surely, then, it is absurd that the Greeks should be so conceited as to think themselves the sole possessors of a knowledge of antiquity and the only accurate reporters of its history. Anyone can easily discover from the historians themselves that their writings have no basis of sure knowledge, but merely present the facts as conjectured by individual authors. More often than not they confute each other in their works, not hesitating to give the most contradictory accounts of the same events. It would be superfluous for me to point out to readers better informed than myself what discrepancies there are between Hellanicus[c] and Acusilaus on the genealogies,[d] how often Acusilaus corrects Hesiod, how the mendacity of Hellanicus in most of his statements is exposed by Ephorus,[e] that of Ephorus by Timaeus,[f] that of

Discrepancies between different Greek historians.

[d] Traditions about Greek origins arranged in genealogical form.

[e] Pupil of Isocrates, latter half of 4th cent.

[f] *Circa* 352–256 B.C.; wrote a voluminous history of Sicily, his native country, down to 264 B.C.; nicknamed Ἐπιτίμαιος, "Fault-finder"; attacked by Polybius.

Τίμαιος, καὶ Τίμαιον οἱ μετ' ἐκεῖνον γεγονότες,
17 Ἡρόδοτον δὲ πάντες. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν Σικελικῶν τοῖς περὶ Ἀντίοχον καὶ Φίλιστον ἢ Καλλίαν Τίμαιος συμφωνεῖν ἠξίωσεν, οὐδ' αὖ περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν οἱ τὰς Ἀτθίδας συγγεγραφότες ἢ περὶ τῶν Ἀργολικῶν οἱ τὰ περὶ Ἄργος ἱστοροῦντες
18 ἀλλήλοις κατηκολουθήκασι. καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις καὶ βραχυτέρων, ὅπου γε περὶ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατείας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πραχθέντων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι διαπεφωνήκασι; πολλὰ δὲ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ὡς ψευδόμενος ὑπό τινων κατηγορεῖται, καίτοι δοκῶν ἀκριβέστατα τὴν[1] καθ' αὑτὸν ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν.

19 (4) Αἰτίαι δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης[2] διαφωνίας πολλαὶ μὲν ἴσως ἂν καὶ ἕτεραι τοῖς βουλομένοις ζητεῖν ἀναφανεῖεν,[3] ἐγὼ δὲ δυσὶ ταῖς λεχθησομέναις τὴν μεγίστην ἰσχὺν ἀνατίθημι· καὶ προτέραν ἐρῶ τὴν
20 κυριωτέραν εἶναί μοι δοκοῦσαν. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὴ σπουδασθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι δημοσίας γίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἑκάστοτε πραττομένων ἀναγραφὰς τοῦτο μάλιστα δὴ καὶ τὴν πλάνην καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ψεύδεσθαι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα βουλη-
21 θεῖσι περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τι γράφειν παρέσχεν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν ἠμελήθη τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀναγραφάς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς[4] Ἀθηναίοις, οὓς αὐτόχθονας εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ παιδείας ἐπιμελεῖς, οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον εὑρίσκεται γενόμενον, ἀλλὰ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων ἀρχαιοτάτους

[1] ἀκριβέστατα τὴν Holwerda: ἀκριβεστάτην L.
[2] Eus.: τοσαύτης L.
[3] ἂν φανεῖεν Niese.
[4] παρ' αὐτοῖς Eus. Lat.

Timaeus by later writers, and that of Herodotus by everybody.[a] Even on Sicilian history Timaeus did not condescend to agree with Antiochus,[b] Philistus, or Callias; there is similar divergence on Attic affairs between the authors of the "Atthides"[c] and on Argive affairs between the historians of Argos. What need, however, to speak of the histories of individual states and matters of minor importance, when contradictory accounts of the Persian invasion and the events which accompanied it have been given by writers of the first rank? On many points even Thucydides is accused of error by some critics, notwithstanding his reputation for writing the most accurate history of his time.

Reasons for this discrepancy: (1) neglect of Greeks to keep public records.

(4) For such inconsistency many other causes might possibly be found if one cared to look for them; for my part, I attach the greatest weight to the two which I proceed to mention. I will begin with that which I regard as the more fundamental. The main responsibility for the errors of later historians who aspired to write on antiquity and for the licence granted to their mendacity rests with the original neglect of the Greeks to keep official records of current events. This neglect was not confined to the lesser Greek states. Even among the Athenians, who are reputed to be indigenous[d] and devoted to learning, we find that nothing of the kind existed, and their most ancient public records are said to be

[a] *e.g.* Manetho (*Ap.* i. 73), Ctesias, Strabo, pseudo-Plutarch.

[b] Of Syracuse, 4th cent., wrote histories of Sicily (to 424 B.C.) and Italy. Philistus and Callias were also Syracusans (4th-3rd cent.).

[c] Historical and geographical works on Attica; among the authors were Philochorus, Demon, and Ister.

[d] "Autochthonous."

εἶναί φασι τοὺς ὑπὸ Δράκοντος αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν
φονικῶν[1] γραφέντας νόμους, ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τῆς
Πεισιστράτου τυραννίδος ἀνθρώπου γεγονότος.
22 περὶ μὲν γὰρ Ἀρκάδων τί δεῖ[2] λέγειν αὐχούντων
ἀρχαιότητα; μόλις γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
γράμμασιν ἐπαιδεύθησαν.

23 (5) Ἅτε δὴ τοίνυν οὐδεμιᾶς προκαταβεβλημένης
ἀναγραφῆς, ἣ καὶ τοὺς μαθεῖν βουλομένους διδάξειν
ἔμελλε καὶ τοὺς ψευδομένους ἐλέγξειν, ἡ πολλὴ
πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγένετο διαφωνία τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι.
24 δευτέραν δὲ πρὸς ταύτῃ θετέον ἐκείνην αἰτίαν· οἱ
γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν ὁρμήσαντες οὐ περὶ τὴν ἀλή-
θειαν ἐσπούδασαν, καίτοι τοῦτο πρόχειρόν ἐστιν
ἀεὶ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα, λόγων δὲ δύναμιν ἐπεδείκνυντο,
25 καὶ καθ' ὅντινα τρόπον ἐν τούτῳ παρευδοκιμήσειν
τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπελάμβανον, κατὰ τοῦτον ἡρμόζοντο,
τινὲς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μυθολογεῖν τρεπόμενοι, τινὲς δὲ
πρὸς χάριν ἢ τὰς πόλεις ἢ τοὺς βασιλέας ἐπαινοῦν-
τες· ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κατηγορεῖν τῶν πράξεων ἢ
τῶν γεγραφότων ἐχώρησαν ἐνευδοκιμήσειν τούτῳ
26 νομίζοντες. ὅλως δὲ τὸ πάντων ἐναντιώτατον
ἱστορίᾳ πράττοντες διατελοῦσι. τῆς μὲν γὰρ
ἀληθοῦς ἐστι τεκμήριον ἱστορίας, εἰ περὶ τῶν
αὐτῶν ἅπαντες ταὐτὰ καὶ λέγοιεν καὶ γράφοιεν·
οἱ δ' εἰ ταὐτὰ γράψειαν ἑτέρως,[3] οὕτως ἐνόμιζον
27 αὐτοὶ φανεῖσθαι πάντων ἀληθέστατοι. λόγων μὲν
οὖν ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐν τούτοις δεινότητος δεῖ παρα-
χωρεῖν ἡμᾶς τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς,
οὐ μὴν καὶ τῆς περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀληθοῦς ἱστορίας
καὶ μάλιστά γε τῆς περὶ τῶν ἑκάστοις ἐπιχωρίων.

[1] *ed. pr.*: φοινίκων L Lat. Eus. [2] *ed. pr.*: δὴ L.
[3] εἰ μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ γράψ. ἑτέροις Eus.

the laws on homicide drafted for them by Dracon, a man who lived only a little before the despotism of Pisistratus. Of the Arcadians [a] and their vaunted antiquity it is unnecessary to speak, since even at a still later date they had hardly learnt the alphabet. c. 621 B.C. 560 B.C.

(2) their regard for style rather than accuracy.

(5) It is, then, this lack of any basis of documentary evidence, which would have served at once to instruct the eager learner and to confute the liar, that accounts in the main for the inconsistencies between different historians. But a second reason must be added. Those who rushed into writing were concerned not so much to discover the truth, notwithstanding the profession which always comes readily to their pen, as to display their literary ability; and their choice of a subject was determined by the prospect which it offered them of outshining their rivals.[b] Some turned to mythology, others sought popularity by encomiums upon cities or monarchs; others, again, set out to criticize the facts or the historians as the road to a reputation. In short, their invariable method is the very reverse of historical. For the proof of historical veracity is universal agreement in the description, oral or written, of the same events. On the contrary, each of these writers, in giving his divergent account of the same incidents, hoped thereby to be thought the most veracious of all. While, then, for eloquence and literary ability we must yield the palm to the Greek historians, we have no reason to do so for veracity in the history of antiquity, least of all where the particular history of each separate foreign nation is concerned.

[a] Also regarded as autochthonous (Herod. viii. 73).
[b] *Cf. A.* i. 2.

28 (6) Ὅτι μὲν οὖν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις τε καὶ Βαβυ-
λωνίοις ἐκ μακροτάτων ἄνωθεν χρόνων τὴν περὶ
τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἐπιμέλειαν ὅπου μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἦσαν
ἐγκεχειρισμένοι καὶ περὶ ταύτας ἐφιλοσόφουν, Χαλ-
δαῖοι δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις, καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα
δὴ τῶν Ἕλλησιν ἐπιμιγνυμένων ἐχρήσαντο Φοί-
νικες γράμμασιν εἴς τε τὰς περὶ τὸν βίον οἰκο-
νομίας καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἔργων παράδοσιν,
ἐπειδὴ συγχωροῦσιν ἅπαντες, ἐάσειν μοι δοκῶ.
29 περὶ δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων ὅτι τὴν αὐτήν,
ἐῶ γὰρ λέγειν εἰ καὶ πλείω τῶν εἰρημένων, ἐποιή-
σαντο περὶ τὰς ἀναγραφὰς ἐπιμέλειαν, τοῖς ἀρχ-
ιερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς προφήταις τοῦτο προστάξαντες,
καὶ ὡς μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων πεφύλακται
μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας, εἰ δὲ <δεῖ>[1] θρασύτερον
εἰπεῖν καὶ φυλαχθήσεται, πειράσομαι συντόμως
διδάσκειν.
30 (7) Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τούτων[2] τοὺς ἀρίσ-
τους καὶ τῇ θεραπείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ προσεδρεύοντας κατ-
έστησαν, ἀλλ' ὅπως τὸ γένος τῶν ἱερέων ἄμικτον
31 καὶ καθαρὸν διαμενεῖ προυνόησαν. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν
μετέχοντα τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐξ ὁμοεθνοῦς γυναικὸς
παιδοποιεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ πρὸς χρήματα μηδὲ τὰς
ἄλλας ἀποβλέπειν τιμάς, ἀλλὰ τὸ γένος ἐξετάζειν
ἐκ τῶν ἀρχείων[3] λαμβάνοντα τὴν διαδοχὴν καὶ
32 πολλοὺς παρεχόμενον μάρτυρας. καὶ ταῦτα πράτ-

[1] ins. Gutschmid from the Lat.
[2] τούτῳ Niese.
[3] Gutschmid: ἀρχαίων L.

[a] As Reinach remarks, Jos. confuses the keeping of genealogical registers by the priesthood in the time of the second Temple with the wholly different manner in which the books of the Old Testament were written. It must be remembered

(6) Of the care bestowed by the Egyptians and Babylonians on their chronicles from the remotest ages, and how the charge and exposition of these was entrusted, in the former country to the priests, in the latter to the Chaldaeans; and how, among the nations in touch with the Greeks, it was the Phoenicians who made the largest use of writing, both for the ordinary affairs of life and for the commemoration of public events; of all this I think I need say nothing, as the facts are universally admitted. But that our forefathers took no less, not to say even greater, care than the nations I have mentioned in the keeping of their records—a task which they assigned to their chief priests and prophets [a]—and that down to our own times these records have been, and if I may venture to say so, will continue to be, preserved with scrupulous accuracy, I will now endeavour briefly to demonstrate.

The Jewish scriptures and the care bestowed upon them.

The writers and custodians of the records.

(7) Not only did our ancestors in the first instance set over this business men of the highest character, devoted to the service of God, but they took precautions to ensure that the priests' lineage should be kept unadulterated and pure.[b] A member of the priestly order must, to beget a family, marry a woman of his own race,[c] without regard to her wealth or other distinctions; but he must investigate her pedigree, obtaining the genealogy from the archives [d] and producing a number of witnesses.

Selection of the custodians. Scrutiny of priestly marriages and genealogies

that the historical books of the Old Testament after the Pentateuch were included in the second or prophetical portion of the Hebrew Canon and attributed to prophetical writers.

[b] *Cf.* Lev. xxi. 7 ff. [c] *Ib.* 14.

[d] *Cf.* the pedigree of his own family taken from "the public registers" by Josephus, *Vita*, 3-6.

τομεν οὐ μόνον ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἀλλ' ὅπου
ποτὲ σύστημα τοῦ γένους ἐστὶν ἡμῶν κἀκεῖ τὸ
ἀκριβὲς ἀποσώζεται τοῖς ἱερεῦσι περὶ τοὺς γάμους·
33 λέγω δὲ τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Βαβυλῶνι καὶ εἴ
που τῆς ἄλλης οἰκουμένης τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερέων
εἰσί τινες διεσπαρμένοι. πέμπουσι γὰρ εἰς Ἱερο-
σόλυμα συγγράψαντες πατρόθεν τοὔνομα τῆς τε
γαμετῆς[1] καὶ τῶν ἐπάνω προγόνων καὶ τίνες οἱ
34 μαρτυροῦντες. πόλεμος δ' εἰ κατάσχοι, καθάπερ
ἤδη γέγονε πολλάκις, Ἀντιόχου τε τοῦ Ἐπι-
φανοῦς εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλόντος καὶ Πομπηίου
Μάγνου καὶ Κυντιλίου Οὐάρου μάλιστα δὲ καὶ ἐν
35 τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις, οἱ περιλειπόμενοι τῶν
ἱερέων καινὰ πάλιν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχείων γράμματα[2]
συνίστανται καὶ δοκιμάζουσι τὰς ὑπολειφθείσας
γυναῖκας. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι[3] τὰς αἰχμαλώτους γενομένας
προσίενται πολλάκις γεγονυῖαν αὐταῖς τὴν πρὸς
36 ἀλλόφυλον κοινωνίαν ὑφορώμενοι. τεκμήριον δὲ
μέγιστον τῆς ἀκριβείας· οἱ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖς οἱ παρ'
ἡμῖν ἀπὸ δισχιλίων ἐτῶν ὀνομαστοὶ παῖδες ἐκ
πατρός εἰσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς. τοῖς δὲ τῶν
εἰρημένων ὁτιοῦν παραβᾶσιν[4] ἀπηγόρευται μήτε
τοῖς βωμοῖς παρίστασθαι μήτε μετέχειν τῆς ἄλλης
ἁγιστείας.

37 Εἰκότως οὖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναγκαίως, ἅτε μήτε
τοῦ γράφειν[5] αὐτεξουσίου πᾶσιν ὄντος μήτε τινὸς
ἐν τοῖς γραφομένοις ἐνούσης διαφωνίας, ἀλλὰ

[1] τῆς τε γαμετῆς Niese (Lat. *nuptae*): τῆς γεγραμμένης L: τῶν γειναμένων *ed. pr.*

[2] ἀρχείων γράμματα Gutschmid: ἀρχαίων γραμμάτων L.

[3] *ed. pr.*: ἐπὶ L.

[4] παραβᾶσιν Niese (after Lat.): γένοιτο εἰς παράβασιν L.

[5] Niese: τὸ (τοῦ *ed. pr.*) ὑπογράφειν L.

And this practice of ours is not confined to the home country of Judaea, but wherever there is a Jewish colony, there too a strict account is kept by the priests of their marriages ; I allude to the Jews in Egypt and Babylon and other parts of the world in which any of the priestly order are living in dispersion. A statement is drawn up by them and sent to Jerusalem, showing the names of the bride and her father and more remote ancestors, together with the names of the witnesses. In the not infrequent event of war, for instance when our country was invaded by Antiochus Epiphanes, by Pompey the Great, by Quintilius Varus, and above all in our own times, the surviving priests compile fresh records from the archives ; they also pass scrutiny upon the remaining women, and disallow marriage with any who have been taken captive, suspecting them of having had frequent intercourse with foreigners.[a] But the most convincing proof of our accuracy in this matter is that our records contain the names of our high priests, with the succession from father to son for the last two thousand years.[b] And whoever violates any of the above rules is forbidden to minister at the altars or to take any other part in divine worship.

170–168 B.C. 63 B.C. c. 4 B.C. A.D. 66–70

The twenty two books of Scripture

It therefore naturally, or rather necessarily, follows (seeing that with us it is not open to everybody to write the records, and that there is no discrepancy in what is written ; seeing that, on the contrary, the

[a] *Cf. A.* iii. 276, xiii. 292. Yet Josephus himself, a priest, married a captive, *Vita* 414.
[b] *Cf. A.* i. 16 and xx. 227.

μόνων τῶν προφητῶν τὰ μὲν ἀνωτάτω καὶ παλαιό-
τατα κατὰ τὴν ἐπίπνοιαν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαθόν-
των, τὰ δὲ καθ' αὑτοὺς ὡς ἐγένετο σαφῶς συγ-
38 γραφόντων, (8) οὐ μυριάδες βιβλίων εἰσὶ παρ' ἡμῖν
ἀσυμφώνων καὶ μαχομένων, δύο δὲ μόνα πρὸς τοῖς
εἴκοσι βιβλία τοῦ παντὸς ἔχοντα χρόνου τὴν
39 ἀναγραφήν, τὰ δικαίως[1] πεπιστευμένα. καὶ τού-
των πέντε μέν ἐστι τὰ Μωυσέως, ἃ τούς τε νόμους
περιέχει καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἀνθρωπογονίας παράδοσιν
μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς· οὗτος ὁ χρόνος ἀπο-
40 λείπει τρισχιλίων ὀλίγον ἐτῶν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς
Μωυσέως τελευτῆς μέχρις[2] Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ μετὰ
Ξέρξην Περσῶν βασιλέως οἱ μετὰ Μωυσῆν προ-
φῆται τὰ κατ' αὑτοὺς πραχθέντα συνέγραψαν ἐν
τρισὶ καὶ δέκα βιβλίοις. αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τέσσαρες
ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήκας
41 τοῦ βίου περιέχουσιν. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου μέχρι
τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γέγραπται μὲν ἕκαστα,
πίστεως δ' οὐχ ὁμοίας ἠξίωται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν
διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ
διαδοχήν.
42 Δῆλον δ' ἐστὶν ἔργῳ πῶς ἡμεῖς πρόσιμεν τοῖς
ἰδίοις γράμμασι·[3] τοσούτου γὰρ αἰῶνος ἤδη
παρῳχηκότος οὔτε προσθεῖναί τις οὐδὲν οὔτε

[1] + θεῖα Eus.
[2] μεχρὶς (after Lat.) Gutschmid: μεχρὶ τῆς L.
[3] προσίμεν . . . γράμμασι Eus.: τοῖς ἰδίοις γράμμασι πεπιστεύκαμεν L Lat.

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[a] Artaxerxes I (Longimanus) succeeded Xerxes in 465 B.C. He is identified elsewhere in Josephus (*A*. xi. 184) and in the LXX with Ahasuerus of the book of Esther, and is mentioned here because of his supposed connexion

prophets alone had this privilege, obtaining their knowledge of the most remote and ancient history through the inspiration which they owed to God, and committing to writing a clear account of the events of their own time just as they occurred)—it follows, I say, that (8) we do not possess myriads of inconsistent books, conflicting with each other. Our books, those which are justly accredited, are but two and twenty, and contain the record of all time.

Of these, five are the books of Moses, comprising the laws and the traditional history from the birth of man down to the death of the lawgiver. This period falls only a little short of three thousand years. From the death of Moses until Artaxerxes,[a] who succeeded Xerxes as king of Persia, the prophets subsequent to Moses wrote the history of the events of their own times in thirteen[b] books. The remaining four[c] books contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life.

From Artaxerxes to our own time the complete history has been written, but has not been deemed worthy of equal credit with the earlier records, because of the failure of the exact succession of the prophets.

Jews' veneration for their Scriptures.

We have given practical proof of our reverence for[d] our own Scriptures. For, although such long ages have now passed, no one has ventured either to add,

with that work, chronologically the latest of the "thirteen books."

[b] Probably (1) Joshua, (2) Jd. + Ruth, (3) Sam., (4) Kings, (5) Chron., (6) Ezra + Neh., (7) Esther, (8) Job, (9) Isaiah, (10) Jeremiah + Lam., (11) Ezekiel, (12) Minor Prophets, (13) Daniel.

[c] Probably (1) Psalms, (2) Song of Songs, (3) Proverbs, (4) Ecclesiastes.

[d] Lit. "how we approach."

ἀφελεῖν αὐτῶν οὔτε μεταθεῖναι τετόλμηκεν, πᾶσι
δὲ σύμφυτόν ἐστιν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως
Ἰουδαίοις τὸ νομίζειν[1] αὐτὰ θεοῦ δόγματα καὶ
τούτοις ἐμμένειν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ δέοι, θνήσκειν
43 ἡδέως. ἤδη οὖν πολλοὶ πολλάκις ἑώρανται τῶν
αἰχμαλώτων στρέβλας καὶ παντοίων θανάτων
τρόπους ἐν θεάτροις ὑπομένοντες ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν
ῥῆμα προέσθαι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰς μετὰ
τούτων ἀναγραφάς.

44 Ὃ τίς ἂν ὑπομείνειεν Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ <τῶν>
αὐτοῦ; ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ παρ'
αὐτοῖς ἀφανισθῆναι συγγράμματα τὴν τυχοῦσαν
45 ὑποστήσεται βλάβην· λόγους γὰρ αὐτὰ νομίζουσιν
εἶναι κατὰ τὴν τῶν γραψάντων βούλησιν ἐσχε-
διασμένους. καὶ τοῦτο δικαίως καὶ περὶ τῶν
παλαιοτέρων φρονοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν νῦν
ἐνίους ὁρῶσι τολμῶντας περὶ τούτων συγγράφειν,
οἷς μήτ' αὐτοὶ παρεγένοντο μήτε πυθέσθαι παρὰ
46 τῶν εἰδότων ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν. ἀμέλει καὶ περὶ
τοῦ γενομένου νῦν ἡμῖν πολέμου τινὲς ἱστορίας
ἐπιγράψαντες ἐξενηνόχασιν οὔτ' εἰς τοὺς τόπους
παραβαλόντες οὔτε πλησίον τούτων πραττομένων
προσελθόντες, ἀλλ' ἐκ παρακουσμάτων ὀλίγα
συνθέντες τῷ τῆς ἱστορίας ὀνόματι λίαν ἀναιδῶς
ἐνεπαροίνησαν.

47 (9) Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου παντὸς καὶ περὶ
τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ[2] κατὰ μέρος γενομένων ἀληθῆ τὴν
ἀναγραφὴν ἐποιησάμην τοῖς πράγμασιν αὐτὸς
48 ἅπασι παρατυχών. ἐστρατήγουν μὲν γὰρ τῶν παρ'
ἡμῖν Γαλιλαίων ὀνομαζομένων ἕως ἀντέχειν δυνα-

[1] τὸ νομίζειν Eus.: ὀνομάζειν L Lat.
[2] ἐν αὐτῷ *ed. pr.*: αὐτῷ L: *ibi* (=αὐτοῦ) Lat.

or to remove,[a] or to alter a syllable; and it is an instinct with every Jew, from the day of his birth, to regard them as the decrees of God, to abide by them, and, if need be, cheerfully to die for them. Time and again ere now the sight has been witnessed of prisoners enduring tortures and death in every form in the theatres, rather than utter a single word against the laws and the allied documents.[b]

Greek disregard for their records and historical accuracy.

What Greek would endure as much for the same cause? Even to save the entire collection of his nation's writings from destruction he would not face the smallest personal injury. For to the Greeks they are mere stories improvised according to the fancy of their authors; and in this estimate even of the older historians they are quite justified, when they see some of their own contemporaries venturing to describe events in which they bore no part, without taking the trouble to seek information from those who know the facts. We have actually had so-called histories even of our recent war published by persons who never visited the sites nor were anywhere near the actions described, but, having put together a few hearsay reports, have, with the gross impudence of drunken revellers, miscalled their productions by the name of history.[c]

Defence of the author's *Jewish War.*

(9) I, on the contrary, have written a veracious account, at once comprehensive and detailed, of the war, having been present in person at all the events. I was in command of those whom we call Galilaeans,

[a] *Cf.* Deut. iv. 2, "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish from it."

[b] *Cf. Ap.* ii. 219.

[c] *Cf. B.* i. 1 ff. For a rival history of the war by Justus of Tiberias see *Vita* 336 ff. Here he seems to allude to untrustworthy histories by *Greek* writers.

τὸν ἦν, ἐγενόμην δὲ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις συλληφθεὶς αἰχμάλωτος καί με διὰ φυλακῆς Οὐεσπασιανὸς καὶ Τίτος ἔχοντες ἀεὶ προσεδρεύειν αὐτοῖς ἠνάγκασαν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δεδεμένον, αὖθις δὲ λυθεὶς συνεπέμφθην ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας Τίτῳ πρὸς
49 τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων πολιορκίαν. ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ[1] τῶν πραττομένων οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τὴν ἐμὴν γνῶσιν διέφυγεν· καὶ γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ῥωμαίων ὁρῶν ἐπιμελῶς ἀνέγραφον καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν αὐτο-
50 μόλων ἀπαγγελλόμενα μόνος αὐτὸς συνίειν. εἶτα σχολῆς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ λαβόμενος, πάσης μοι τῆς πραγματείας ἐν παρασκευῇ γεγενημένης, χρησάμενός τισι πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν συνεργοῖς, οὕτως ἐποιησάμην τῶν πράξεων τὴν παράδοσιν. τοσοῦτον δέ μοι περιῆν θάρσος τῆς ἀληθείας ὥστε πρώτους πάντων τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας τοῦ πολέμου γενομένους Οὐεσπασιανὸν καὶ Τίτον ἠξίωσα λαβεῖν
51 μάρτυρας. πρώτοις γὰρ ἔδωκα[2] τὰ βιβλία καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνους πολλοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίων τοῖς συμπεπολεμηκόσι, πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπίπρασκον, ἀνδράσι καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς σοφίας μετεσχηκόσιν, ὧν ἐστιν Ἰούλιος Ἀρχέλαος, Ἡρώδης ὁ σεμνότατος, αὐτὸς ὁ θαυμασιώτατος βασιλεὺς
52 Ἀγρίππας. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν ὅτι τῆς ἀληθείας προύστην ἐπιμελῶς, οὐκ ἂν ὑποστειλάμενοι καὶ σιωπήσαντες, εἴ τι κατ᾽ ἄγνοιαν ἢ χαριζόμενος μετέθηκα τῶν γεγονότων ἢ παρέλιπον.

[1] + γενομένην L (om. Lat.).
[2] Niese: δέδωκα L.

[a] *B.* iii. 408.
[b] *B.* iv. (x. 7) 622 ff.
[c] *Cf. B.* iv. 658.
[d] *Cf. Vita* 361 ff.

so long as resistance was possible; after my capture I was a prisoner in the Roman camp.[a] Vespasian and Titus, keeping me under surveillance, required my constant attendance upon them, at first in chains; subsequently I was liberated[b] and sent from Alexandria with Titus to the siege of Jerusalem.[c] During that time no incident escaped my knowledge. I kept a careful record of all that went on under my eyes in the Roman camp, and was alone in a position to understand the information brought by deserters. Then, in the leisure which Rome afforded me, with all my materials in readiness, and with the aid of some assistants for the sake of the Greek, at last I committed to writing my narrative of the events. So confident was I of its veracity that I presumed to take as my witnesses, before all others, the commanders-in-chief in the war, Vespasian and Titus.[d] They were the first to whom I presented my volumes, copies being afterwards given to many Romans who had taken part in the campaign. Others I sold[e] to a large number of my compatriots, persons well versed in Greek learning, among whom were Julius Archelaus,[f] the most venerable Herod,[g] and the most admirable King Agrippa himself.[h] All these bore testimony to my scrupulous safeguarding of the truth, and they were not the men to conceal their sentiments or keep silence had I, through ignorance or partiality, distorted or omitted any of the facts.

[e] In the parallel account (*Vita* 362) King Agrippa II is named, with others, as receiving a presentation copy.

[f] Son of Chelcias and husband of Mariamme, sister of King Agrippa II; *A.* xix. 355, xx. 140.

[g] Unknown; not, as Reinach suggests, Herod, king of Chalcis, who died before the war (*A.* xx. 104).

[h] Agrippa II.

53 (10) Φαῦλοι δέ τινες ἄνθρωποι διαβάλλειν μου τὴν
ἱστορίαν ἐπικεχειρήκασιν ὥσπερ ἐν σχολῇ μειρα-
κίων γύμνασμα προκεῖσθαι νομίζοντες, κατηγορίας
παραδόξου καὶ διαβολῆς, δέον ἐκεῖνο γιγνώσκειν,
ὅτι δεῖ τὸν ἄλλοις παράδοσιν πράξεων ἀληθινῶν
ὑπισχνούμενον αὐτὸν ἐπίστασθαι ταύτας πρότερον
ἀκριβῶς, ἢ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἢ
54 παρὰ τῶν εἰδότων πυνθανόμενον. ὅπερ ἐγὼ μά-
λιστα περὶ ἀμφοτέρας νομίζω πεποιηκέναι τὰς
πραγματείας. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαιολογίαν, ὥσπερ
ἔφην, ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων μεθηρμήνευκα
γεγονὼς ἱερεὺς ἐκ γένους καὶ μετεσχηκὼς τῆς
55 φιλοσοφίας τῆς ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς γράμμασι· τοῦ
δὲ πολέμου τὴν ἱστορίαν ἔγραψα πολλῶν μὲν
αὐτουργὸς πράξεων, πλείστων δ' αὐτόπτης γενό-
μενος, ὅλως δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων ἢ πραχθέντων
56 οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἀγνοήσας. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν θρασεῖς
τις ἡγήσαιτο τοὺς ἀνταγωνίζεσθαί μοι περὶ τῆς
ἀληθείας ἐπικεχειρηκότας, οἳ κἂν τοῖς τῶν αὐτο-
κρατόρων ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντυχεῖν λέγωσιν, ἀλλ' οὔ γε
καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις τῶν ἀντιπολεμούντων πράγμασι
παρέτυχον;

57 (11) Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀναγκαίαν ἐποιησάμην
τὴν παρέκβασιν ἐπισημήνασθαι βουλόμενος τῶν
ἐπαγγελλομένων τὰς ἱστορίας συγγράφειν τὴν εὐ-
58 χέρειαν. ἱκανῶς δὲ φανερόν, ὡς οἶμαι, πεποιηκὼς

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[a] *Cf.* Thuc. i. 22, "My history is an everlasting possession, not a prize composition which is heard and forgotten." Others, making the genitives κατηγορίας . . . διαβολῆς dependent on γύμνασμα, would render: "treating it as an exercise for the display of perverse accusation and calumny, such as is set," etc.

(10) Nevertheless, certain despicable persons have essayed to malign my history, taking it for a prize composition [a] such as is set to boys at school. What an extraordinary accusation and calumny! Surely they ought to recognize that it is the duty of one who promises to present his readers with actual facts first to obtain an exact knowledge of them himself, either through having been in close touch with the events, or by inquiry from those who knew them. That duty I consider myself to have amply fulfilled in both my works. In my *Antiquities*, as I said, I have given a translation of our sacred books; [b] being a priest and of priestly ancestry, I am well versed in the philosophy [c] of those writings. My qualification as historian of the war was that I had been an actor in many, and an eyewitness of most, of the events; in short, nothing whatever was said or done of which I was ignorant. Surely, then, one cannot but regard as audacious the attempt of these critics to challenge my veracity. Even if, as they assert, they have read the *Commentaries* of the imperial commanders,[d] they at any rate had no first-hand acquaintance with our position in the opposite camp. and r... his cri...

(11) My desire to expose the levity of those who profess to write history has compelled me to digress. Having now, I think, sufficiently shown that the Topics of the present work.

[b] *Cf. A.* i. 5, xx. 261. In the *Antiquities* (first half), he implies, he has given his own paraphrase and interpretation of the Old Testament; but in reality he is largely dependent on an older Greek version, the Septuagint.

[c] Or "study," "scientific treatment"; Josephus shows some knowledge of traditional exegesis (*Halakoth*, etc.).

[d] *Cf. Vita* 342, 358.

ὅτι πάτριός ἐστιν ἡ περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀναγραφὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, βούλομαι μικρὰ πρότερον διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας νέαν ἡμῶν ἀποφαίνειν τὴν κατάστασιν ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν περὶ ἡμῶν, ὥς φασιν ἐκεῖνοι, λελέχθαι παρὰ
59 τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν. εἶτα δὲ τὰς μαρτυρίας τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἄλλοις γραμμάτων παρέξω καὶ τοὺς βεβλασφημηκότας ἡμῶν τὸ γένος ἀποδείξω λίαν ἀλόγως[1] βλασφημοῦντας.

60 (12) Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν οὔτε χώραν οἰκοῦμεν παράλιον οὔτ' ἐμπορίαις χαίρομεν οὐδὲ ταῖς πρὸς ἄλλους διὰ τούτων ἐπιμιξίαις, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμῶν αἱ πόλεις μακρὰν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνῳκισμέναι, χώραν δὲ ἀγαθὴν νεμόμενοι ταύτην ἐκπονοῦμεν, μάλιστα δὴ πάντων περὶ παιδοτροφίαν φιλοκαλοῦντες καὶ τὸ φυλάττειν τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν κατὰ τούτους παραδεδομένην εὐσέβειαν ἔργον ἀναγκαιότατον
61 παντὸς τοῦ βίου πεποιημένοι. προσούσης τοίνυν τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ἰδιότητος οὐδὲν[2] ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρόνοις[3] ποιοῦν ἡμῖν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπιμιξίαν, ὥσπερ Αἰγυπτίοις μὲν τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξαγόμενα καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰσαγόμενα, τοῖς δὲ τὴν παράλιον τῆς Φοινίκης κατοικοῦσιν ἡ περὶ τὰς καπηλείας καὶ περὶ τὰς
62 ἐμπορίας σπουδὴ διὰ τὸ φιλοχρηματεῖν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς λῃστείας, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τινές, ἢ τὸ πλέον ἔχειν ἀξιοῦν πολεμοῦντες[4] ἐτράπησαν ἡμῶν οἱ πατέρες, καίτοι πολλὰς τῆς χώρας ἐχούσης
63 μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἀτόλμων. διὰ τοῦτο Φοίνικες μὲν αὐτοὶ κατ' ἐμπορίαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπεισπλέον-

[1] ἀλόγως Hudson: ἐν τοῖς λόγοις L. [2] + ἦν *ed. pr.*
[3] + τὸ *ed. pr.* [4] ἀξιοῦντες πρὸς πολέμους Lat. (apparently).

tradition of keeping chronicles of antiquity is found rather among the non-Hellenic[a] races than with the Greeks, I propose, in the first place,[b] to reply briefly to those critics who endeavour to prove the late origin of our constitution from the alleged silence of the Greek historians concerning us. I shall then[c] proceed to cite testimonies to our antiquity from external literature, and finally[d] to show the utter absurdity of the calumnies of the traducers of our race.

(I.) Explanation of the silence of Greek historians about the Jews.

(12) Well, ours is not a maritime country; neither commerce nor the intercourse which it promotes with the outside world has any attraction for us. Our cities are built inland, remote from the sea; and we devote ourselves to the cultivation of the productive country with which we are blessed. Above all we pride ourselves on the education of our children, and regard as the most essential task in life the observance of our laws and of the pious practices, based thereupon, which we have inherited. If to these reasons one adds the peculiarity of our mode of life, there was clearly nothing in ancient times to bring us into contact with the Greeks, as the Egyptians were brought by their exports and imports, and the inhabitants of the sea-board of Phoenicia by their mercenary devotion to trade and commerce. (Nor, again, did our forefathers, like some others, have recourse to piracy,[e] or to military schemes of aggrandizement, although their country contained myriads of courageous men.) It was to their coming on their ships to traffic with the Greeks

[a] "Barbarian." [b] §§ 60-68.
[c] §§ 69-218. [d] *Ap.* i. 219-ii. 144.
[e] After Thuc. i. 5 (who says that before the time of Minos piracy was regarded as an honourable occupation); *cf.* Hom. *Od.* iii. 71 ff.

τες εὐθὺς ἐγνώσθησαν, καὶ δι' ἐκείνων Αἰγύπτιοι
καὶ πάντες ἀφ' ὧν τὸν φόρτον εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας
64 διεκόμιζον μεγάλα πελάγη διαίροντες. Μῆδοι δὲ
μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ Πέρσαι φανεροὶ κατέστησαν τῆς
Ἀσίας ἐπάρξαντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἑτέρας[1]
ἠπείρου Πέρσαι στρατεύσαντες. Θρᾷκες δὲ διὰ
γειτονίαν καὶ τὸ Σκυθικὸν ὑπὸ[2] τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον
65 ἐγνώσθη πλεόντων. ὅλως γὰρ ἅπαντες οἱ παρὰ τὴν
θάλατταν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς καὶ[3] τὴν
ἑσπέριον κατοικοῦντες τοῖς συγγράφειν τι βου-
λομένοις γνωριμώτεροι κατέστησαν, οἱ δὲ ταύτης
ἀνωτέρω τὰς οἰκήσεις ἔχοντες ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἠγνοή-
66 θησαν. καὶ τοῦτο φαίνεται καὶ περὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην
συμβεβηκός, ὅπου γε τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως,
τοιαύτην ἐκ μακροῦ δύναμιν κεκτημένης καὶ
τοιαύτας πράξεις κατορθούσης πολεμικάς, οὔθ'[4]
Ἡρόδοτος οὔτε Θουκυδίδης οὔτε τῶν ἅμα τούτοις
γενομένων οὐδὲ εἷς ἐμνημόνευκεν, ἀλλ' ὀψέ ποτε
καὶ μόλις αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἡ γνῶσις
67 διεξῆλθεν. περὶ μὲν γὰρ Γαλατῶν τε καὶ Ἰβήρων
οὕτως ἠγνόησαν οἱ δοκοῦντες ἀκριβέστατοι συγ-
γραφεῖς, ὧν ἐστιν Ἔφορος, ὥστε πόλιν οἴεται
μίαν εἶναι τοὺς Ἴβηρας τοὺς τοσοῦτο μέρος τῆς
ἑσπερίου γῆς κατοικοῦντας, καὶ τὰ μήτε γενόμενα
παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔθη μήτε λεγόμενα γράφειν ὡς ἐκείνων
68 αὐτοῖς χρωμένων ἐτόλμησαν. αἴτιον δὲ τοῦ μὲν μὴ
γιγνώσκειν τἀληθὲς τὸ λίαν ἀνεπίμικτον, τοῦ δὲ
γράφειν ψευδῆ τὸ βούλεσθαι δοκεῖν τι πλέον τῶν

[1] ἑτέρας (= Lat. *alteram*) Hudson: ἡμετέρας L.
[2] Niese: ἀπὸ L. [3] + πρὸς L. [4] + ὁ L.

[a] So Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1st century B.C.), *Ant.*

that the Phoenicians owed their own early notoriety ; and through their agency the Egyptians became known and all whose merchandise the Phoenicians conveyed across great oceans to the Greeks. At a later date, the Medes and Persians were brought before the world by their dominion in Asia, the latter more particularly by their invasion of the other continent. The Thracians were known as near neighbours, the Scythians through the navigators of the Euxine. As a general rule, all the nations with a sea-board, whether on the eastern or the western sea, were better known by authors desirous of writing history, while those who lived further inland remained for the most part unknown. That this rule holds good also for Europe appears, for instance, from the fact that the city of Rome, which had long before their time attained such power and been so successful in war, is mentioned neither by Herodotus nor by Thucydides nor by anyone of their contemporaries ; it was only at quite a late date that a knowledge of the Romans with difficulty penetrated to the Greeks.[a] On the Gauls and Iberians such was the ignorance of persons reputed to be the most exact of historians, such as Ephorus, that this writer imagined that the Iberians, who occupy so large a portion of the western world, were a single city ; while others ventured to ascribe to them customs destitute of all foundation in fact or tradition. While their ignorance of the facts is explained by their never having had the remotest relations with those peoples,[b] their false statements are due to an am-

Rom. i. 4. 2, " The ancient history of the city of Rome is still unknown to wellnigh all the Greeks."

[b] Or, perhaps, " by the complete isolation [of these nations] from the world."

ἄλλων ἱστορεῖν. πῶς οὖν ἔτι θαυμάζειν προσῆκεν, εἰ μηδὲ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἔθνος πολλοῖς ἐγιγνώσκετο μηδὲ τῆς ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασι μνήμης ἀφορμὴν παρέσχεν, οὕτως μὲν ἀπῳκισμένον τῆς θαλάσσης, οὕτως δὲ βιοτεύειν προῃρημένον;

69 (13) Φέρε τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ἀξιοῦν τεκμηρίῳ χρῆσθαι περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι μὴ παλαιόν ἐστιν αὐτῶν τὸ γένος, τῷ μηθὲν ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀναγραφαῖς περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρῆσθαι. ἆρ᾽ οὐχὶ πάντως ἂν κατεγέλων αὐτάς, οἶμαι, τὰς ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ νῦν εἰρημένας κομίζοντες αἰτίας, καὶ μάρτυρας ἂν τοὺς πλησιοχώρους
70 παρείχοντο τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχαιότητος; κἀγὼ τοίνυν πειράσομαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. Αἰγυπτίοις γὰρ καὶ Φοίνιξι μάλιστα δὴ χρήσομαι μάρτυσιν, οὐκ ἄν τινος ὡς ψευδῆ τὴν μαρτυρίαν διαβάλλειν δυνηθέντος· φαίνονται γὰρ καὶ δὴ μάλιστα πρὸς ἡμᾶς δυσμενῶς διατεθέντες κοινῇ μὲν ἅπαντες Αἰγύπτιοι,
71 Φοινίκων δὲ Τύριοι. περὶ μέντοι Χαλδαίων οὐκέτι ταὐτὸ τοῦτο[1] δυναίμην ἂν λέγειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχηγοὶ καθεστήκασι καὶ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀναγραφαῖς Ἰουδαίων
72 μνημονεύουσιν. ὅταν δὲ τὰς παρὰ[2] τούτων πίστεις παράσχω, τότε καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφέων ἀποφανῶ τοὺς μνήμην Ἰουδαίων πεποιηκότας, ἵνα μηδὲ ταύτην ἔτι τὴν πρόφασιν οἱ βασκαίνοντες ἔχωσι τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀντιλογίας.
73 (14) Ἄρξομαι δὴ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων. αὐτὰ μὲν οὖν οὐχ οἷόν τε παρατίθεσθαι τἀκείνων, Μανέθως[3] δ᾽ ἦν τὸ γένος Αἰ-

[1] ταὐτὸ τοῦτο] *hoc* Lat. [2] conj.: περὶ L.
[3] Eus.: Μανεθὼν L Lat. (and so elsewhere).

bition to appear better informed than the rest of the world. Surely, then, it should no longer excite surprise that our nation, so remote from the sea, and so deliberately living its own life, likewise remained largely unknown and offered no occasion to historians to mention it.

(II.) Witness of various nations to the antiquity of the Jews.

(13) Suppose that we were to presume to dispute the antiquity of the Greek nation and to base our contention on the absence of any mention of them in our literature. Would they not undoubtedly laugh us to scorn? They would, I imagine, offer the very reasons which I have just given for such silence, and produce the neighbouring nations as witnesses to their antiquity. Well, that is just what I shall endeavour to do. As my principal witnesses I shall cite the Egyptians and Phoenicians, whose evidence is quite unimpeachable; for the Egyptians, the whole race without exception, and among the Phoenicians the Tyrians, are notoriously our bitterest enemies. Of the Chaldaeans I could not say the same, because they are the original ancestors of our race, and this blood-relationship accounts for the mention which is made of the Jews in their annals. After producing the evidence supplied by these nations, I shall then bring forward those Greek historians who have spoken of the Jews, in order to deprive our jealous enemies of even this pretext for controversy.

(A) Evidence of the *Egyptian* MANETHO.

(14) I will begin with the Egyptian documents. I cannot quote from the originals; but in Manetho [a] we

[a] An Egyptian priest who lived under the first and, probably, the second of the Ptolemies, "the first Egyptian who gave in the Greek language an account of the doctrines, wisdom, history and chronology of his country," based on Egyptian records; his History was divided into three books.

γύπτιος, ἀνὴρ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μετεσχηκὼς παιδείας, ὡς δῆλός ἐστι· γέγραφε γὰρ Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ τὴν πάτριον ἱστορίαν ἐκ δέλτων[1] ἱερῶν, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, μεταφράσας, ὃς[2] καὶ πολλὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἐλέγχει τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας
74 ἐψευσμένον. οὗτος δὴ τοίνυν ὁ Μανέθως ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ταῦτα περὶ ἡμῶν γράφει· παραθήσομαι δὲ τὴν λέξιν αὐτοῦ καθάπερ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον παραγαγὼν μάρτυρα·

75 "Τουτίμαιος.[3] ἐπὶ τούτου οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ὁ[4] θεὸς ἀντέπνευσεν καὶ παραδόξως ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μερῶν ἄνθρωποι τὸ γένος ἄσημοι καταθαρρήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐστράτευσαν καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀμαχητὶ
76 ταύτην κατὰ κράτος εἷλον, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμονεύσαντας ἐν αὐτῇ χειρωσάμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν τάς τε πόλεις ὠμῶς ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερὰ κατέσκαψαν, πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐχθρότατά πως ἐχρήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν σφάζοντες, τῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ
77 τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς δουλείαν ἄγοντες. πέρας δὲ καὶ βασιλέα ἕνα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Σάλιτις.[5] καὶ οὗτος ἐν τῇ Μέμφιδι κατεγίνετο τήν τε ἄνω καὶ κάτω χώραν δασμολογῶν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις καταλείπων[6] τόποις. μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἠσφαλίσατο μέρη, προορώμενος Ἀσσυρίων ποτὲ μεῖζον ἰσχυόντων ἐσομένην ἐπιθυμίᾳ[7] τῆς αὐτοῦ βασι-
78 λείας ἔφοδον. εὑρὼν δὲ ἐν νομῷ τῷ Σεθροΐτῃ[8]

[1] δέλτων Gutschmid: τε τῶν L. [2] ὃς Eus.: om. L.
[3] After Gutschmid and Reinach: τοῦ Τίμαιος ὄνομα L Eus. (the last word probably a gloss).
[4] ὁ Eus.: om. L.
[5] Σαΐτης Manetho as cited by others.
[6] *ed. pr.*: καταλιπὼν L. [7] Bekker: ἐπιθυμίαν L.

have one who was both a native of Egypt and also proficient in Greek learning. This is evident from the history of his nation which he wrote in Greek, a translation, as he says himself, from the sacred books,[a] in which he convicts Herodotus of being misled through ignorance on many points of Egyptian history. In the second book of his *History of Egypt* this Manetho writes about us as follows. I will quote his own words, just as if I had produced the man himself in the witness-box :

His account of the Hycsos dynasty.

"Tutimaeus. In his reign, I know not why, a blast of God's displeasure broke upon us. A people of ignoble origin from the east, whose coming was unforeseen, had the audacity to invade the country, which they mastered by main force without difficulty or even a battle. Having overpowered the chiefs, they then savagely burnt the cities, razed the temples of the gods to the ground, and treated the whole native population with the utmost cruelty, massacring some, and carrying off the wives and children of others[b] into slavery. Finally they made one of their number, named Salitis, king. He resided at Memphis, exacted tribute from Upper and Lower Egypt, and left garrisons in the places most suited for defence. In particular he secured his eastern flank, as he foresaw that the Assyrians, as their power increased in future, would covet and attack his realm. Having discovered in the Sethroite nome a city very

[a] Or "tablets."

[b] Possibly "massacring the men . . . their wives and children."

[8] Manetho (as elsewhere cited): Σαΐτη L.

πόλιν ἐπικαιροτάτην, κειμένην μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν τοῦ Βουβαστίτου ποταμοῦ, καλουμένην δ' ἀπό τινος ἀρχαίας θεολογίας Αὔαριν, ταύτην ἔκτισέν τε καὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ὀχυρωτάτην ἐποίησεν, ἐνοικίσας αὐτῇ καὶ πλῆθος ὁπλιτῶν εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ
79 τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν προφυλακήν. ἐνθάδε[1] κατὰ θέρειαν ἤρχετο τὰ μὲν σιτομετρῶν καὶ μισθοφορίαν παρεχόμενος, τὰ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐξοπλισίαις πρὸς φόβον τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιμελῶς γυμνάζων. ἄρξας δ' ἐννεακαίδεκα ἔτη τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησε.
80 μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ ἕτερος ἐβασίλευσεν τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη καλούμενος Βνών,[2] μεθ' ὃν ἄλλος Ἀπαχνὰς ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας ἑπτά, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ Ἄπωφις ἓν καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ
81 Ἰαννὰς πεντήκοντα καὶ μῆνα ἕνα, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ καὶ Ἄσσις ἐννέα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ μῆνας δύο. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἓξ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγενήθησαν πρῶτοι ἄρχοντες, ποθοῦντες[3] ἀεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον τῆς Αἰγύπτου
82 ἐξᾶραι τὴν ῥίζαν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὸ σύμπαν αὐτῶν[4] ἔθνος Ὑκσώς,[5] τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν βασιλεῖς ποιμένες· τὸ γὰρ ὑκ καθ' ἱερὰν γλῶσσαν βασιλέα σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ σὼς ποιμήν ἐστι καὶ ποιμένες κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον, καὶ οὕτως συντιθέμενον γίνεται Ὑκσώς. τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς Ἄραβας εἶναι."
83 [ἐν[6] δ' ἄλλῳ ἀντιγράφῳ οὐ βασιλεῖς σημαίνεσθαι

[1] ἔνθα δὲ Lat.
[2] Jul. Africanus: Βηών L.
[3] πορθοῦντες L: text of clause doubtful.
[4] σύμπαν αὐτῶν Eus., Lat.: om. L.
[5] Ὑκουσσὼς Eus. (and so always).
[6] The bracketed clause (already in Eus.) is apparently a gloss.

favourably situated on the east of the Bubastis arm of the river, called after some ancient theological tradition Auaris,[a] he rebuilt and strongly fortified it with walls, and established a garrison there numbering as many as two hundred and forty thousand armed men to protect his frontier. This place he used to visit every summer, partly to serve out rations and pay to his troops, partly to give them a careful training in manœuvres, in order to intimidate foreigners. After a reign of nineteen years he died. A second king, named Bnon, succeeded and reigned for forty-four years; his successor, Apachnas, ruled for thirty-six years and seven months; next Apophis for sixty-one, and Jannas for fifty years and one month; and finally Assis for forty-nine years and two months. The continually growing ambition of these six, their first rulers, was to extirpate the Egyptian people. Their race bore the generic name of Hycsos,[b] which means 'king-shepherds.' For HYC in the sacred language denotes 'king,' and SOS in the common dialect means 'shepherd' or 'shepherds'; the combined words form Hycsos. Some say that they were Arabians."

[In another copy, however, it is stated that the

[a] *Cf.* § 237. Auaris is perhaps Pelusium.

[b] The correct form Hycussōs means, according to W. E. Crum (art. Egypt, Hastings, *B.D.* i. 659 b), "Sheikhs of the (south Syrian) Bedawin"; he regards the interpretation of the last syllable as "shepherd" as a late gloss. The domination of the Hycsos lasted from (?) *c.* 1800 B.C. to *c.* 1580 B.C. They were finally expelled by Ahmose, the founder of the eighteenth dynasty. Their connexion with the Jews is a disputed question, but in the opinion of some critics (*e.g.* Dr. H. R. Hall) Josephus is correct in regarding their expulsion as the original of the Biblical story of the Exodus.

διὰ τῆς τοῦ ὓκ προσηγορίας, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον αἰχμαλώτους δηλοῦσθαι ποιμένας·[1] τὸ γὰρ ὓκ πάλιν Αἰγυπτιστὶ καὶ τὸ ἆκ δασυνόμενον αἰχμαλώτους ῥητῶς μηνύει.] καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον πιθανώτερόν μοι φαίνεται· καὶ παλαιᾶς ἱστορίας ἐχόμενον.

84 Τούτους τοὺς προκατωνομασμένους βασιλέας [καὶ] τοὺς τῶν ποιμένων καλουμένων καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν γενομένους κρατῆσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου
85 φησὶν ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἕνδεκα. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων γενέσθαι φησὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιμένας ἐπανάστασιν καὶ πόλεμον[2] συρραγῆναι
86 μέγαν καὶ πολυχρόνιον. ἐπὶ δὲ βασιλέως, ᾧ ὄνομα εἶναι Μισφραγμούθωσις,[3] ἡττωμένους[4] φησὶ τοὺς ποιμένας[5] ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου πάσης ἐκπεσεῖν, κατακλεισθῆναι δ' εἰς τόπον ἀρουρῶν ἔχοντα μυρίων τὴν περίμετρον· Αὔαρις ὄνομα τῷ
87 τόπῳ. τοῦτόν φησιν ὁ Μανέθως ἅπαντα τείχει τε μεγάλῳ καὶ ἰσχυρῷ περιβαλεῖν τοὺς ποιμένας, ὅπως τήν τε κτῆσιν ἅπασαν ἔχωσιν ἐν ὀχυρῷ
88 καὶ τὴν λείαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν. τὸν δὲ Μισφραγμου-

[1] After Eus.
[2] + αὐτοῖς L Lat.: om. Eus.
[3] Eus.: Ἀλισφραγμούθωσις L (Lat.) and so below.
[4] ἡττημένους should probably be read (Niese).
[5] + ἐξ αὐτοῦ L: om. Eus.

[a] If this passage is genuine, "in another copy" must mean "in another book (*of Manetho*)"; *cf.* § 91. But ἀντίγραφον is not interchangeable with βίβλος, and the paragraph is suspicious on other grounds, viz. (1) its partial repetition in § 91, (2) the proximity of two marginal notes in the MS. of Josephus, in §§ 92 and 98, referring to readings found

word HYC does not mean "kings," but indicates, on the contrary, that the shepherds were "captives." For HYC in Egyptian, as well as HAC with an aspirate, expressly denotes "captives."] [a]

This view appears to me the more probable and more reconcilable with ancient history.

The kings of the so-called shepherds, enumerated above, and their descendants, remained masters of Egypt, according to Manetho, for five hundred and eleven years.

Their expulsion from Egypt and foundation of Jerusalem.

Then [b] the kings of the Thebaid and of the rest of Egypt rose in revolt against the shepherds, and a great war broke out, which was of long duration. Under a king named Misphragmouthosis, the shepherds, he says, were defeated, driven out of all the rest of Egypt, and confined in a place called Auaris, containing ten thousand *arourae*.[c] The shepherds, according to Manetho, enclosed the whole of this area with a great strong wall, in order to secure all their possessions and spoils. Thoum-

"in another copy," *i.e.* as is clear in § 92, *of Josephus*. The bracketed words here are doubtless a similar gloss which has crept into the text. What the "other copy" may have been we do not know; but Josephus, who contemplated a fuller treatment of this subject (§ 92), may have revised this work as he revised his *Antiquities*, and conceivably we have in these glosses relics of another edition. The last sentence of § 83 apparently forms no part of the gloss. The "view" here referred to is that the Hycsos were Arabians, which Josephus regards as "more probable" than that mentioned later, that they were ancestors of the Jews.

[b] In this paragraph Josephus gives a paraphrase of Manetho.

[c] Lit. "containing a circumference of 10,000 *arourae*." The *aroura* was an Egyptian measure of land (= about half an acre), which Josephus, by his paraphrase, appears to have mistaken for a measure of length. For Auaris *cf.* § 78.

θώσεως υἱὸν Θούμμωσιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι μὲν αὐτοὺς διὰ πολιορκίας ἑλεῖν κατὰ κράτος, ὀκτὼ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα μυριάσι στρατοῦ προσεδρεύσαντα τοῖς τείχεσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας[1] ἀπέγνω, ποιήσασθαι συμβάσεις, ἵνα τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐκλιπόντες
89 ὅποι βούλονται πάντες ἀβλαβεῖς ἀπέλθωσι. τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμολογίαις πανοικησίᾳ μετὰ τῶν κτήσεων οὐκ ἐλάττους μυριάδων ὄντας εἴκοσι καὶ τεσσάρων ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὴν ἔρημον εἰς Συρίαν
90 διοδοιπορῆσαι. φοβουμένους δὲ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων δυναστείαν, τότε γὰρ ἐκείνους τῆς Ἀσίας κρατεῖν, ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἰουδαίᾳ καλουμένῃ πόλιν οἰκοδομησαμένους τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἀνθρώπων ἀρκέσουσαν Ἱεροσόλυμα ταύτην ὀνομάσαι.

91 Ἐν ἄλλῃ δέ τινι βίβλῳ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν Μανέθως τοῦτό φησι <τὸ> ἔθνος τοὺς καλουμένους ποιμένας αἰχμαλώτους ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς αὐτῶν βίβλοις γεγράφθαι, λέγων ὀρθῶς· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀνωτάτω προγόνοις ἡμῶν τὸ ποιμαίνειν πάτριον ἦν καὶ νομαδικὸν ἔχοντες τὸν βίον οὕτως
92 ἐκαλοῦντο ποιμένες. αἰχμάλωτοί τε πάλιν οὐκ ἀλόγως ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνεγράφησαν, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ πρόγονος ἡμῶν Ἰώσηπος ἑαυτὸν ἔφη πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων αἰχμάλωτον εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὕστερον μετεπέμψατο τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτρέψαντος. ἀλλὰ

[1] τὴν πολιορκίαν Eus.

mosis, the son of Misphragmouthosis (he continues), invested the walls with an army of 480,000 men, and endeavoured to reduce them to submission by siege. Despairing of achieving his object, he concluded a treaty, under which they were all to evacuate Egypt and go whither they would unmolested. Upon these terms no fewer than two hundred and forty thousand,[a] entire households with their possessions, left Egypt and traversed the desert to Syria. Then, terrified by the might of the Assyrians, who at that time were masters of Asia, they built a city in the country now called Judaea, capable of accommodating their vast company, and gave it the name of Jerusalem.

In another book of his Egyptian history Manetho states that this race, the so-called shepherds, were described as captives in the sacred books of his country.[b] In this statement he is correct. Sheep-breeding was a hereditary custom of our remotest ancestors, and from this nomadic life they came to be called shepherds. But their other name of captives in the Egyptian records was given not without reason, since our ancestor Joseph told the king of Egypt[c] that he was a captive, and afterwards, with the king's permission, had his brethren brought

[a] The number of the garrison mentioned in § 78.
[b] Lit. "in their sacred books"; § 92 shows that the Egyptian books are intended.
[c] In the Biblical account he told his cup-bearer (Gen. xl. 15). The Florentine MS. adds the following marginal note: "In another copy was found this reading: 'was sold by his brethren and brought down into Egypt to the king of Egypt; and again afterwards, with the king's permission, sent for his brethren.'" See note [a] on p. 196.

περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν ἄλλοις ποιήσομαι τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἀκριβεστέραν.

93 (15) Νυνὶ δὲ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ταύτης παρατίθεμαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους μάρτυρας. πάλιν οὖν τὰ τοῦ Μανέθω[1] πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῶν χρόνων τάξιν
94 ὑπογράψω. φησὶ δὲ οὕτως· "μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὸν λαὸν τῶν ποιμένων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ὁ ἐκβαλὼν αὐτοὺς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς Τέθμωσις ἐβασίλευσεν μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτη εἰκοσιπέντε καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν, καὶ παρέλαβεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ αὐτοῦ υἱὸς Χέβρων ἔτη δεκατρία.
95 μεθ' ὃν Ἀμένωφις εἴκοσι καὶ μῆνας ἑπτά. τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφὴ Ἀμεσσὴς εἴκοσι ἓν καὶ μῆνας ἐννέα. τῆς δὲ Μήφρης δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας ἐννέα. τοῦ δὲ Μηφραμούθωσις εἴκοσι πέντε καὶ μῆνας δέκα.
96 τοῦ δὲ Θμῶσις ἐννέα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ. τοῦ δ' Ἀμένωφις τριάκοντα καὶ μῆνας δέκα. τοῦ δὲ Ὧρος τριάκοντα ἓξ καὶ μῆνας πέντε. τοῦ δὲ θυγάτηρ Ἀκεγχερὴς δώδεκα καὶ μῆνα ἕνα. τῆς
97 δὲ Ῥάθωτις ἀδελφὸς ἐννέα. τοῦ δὲ Ἀκεγχήρης δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας πέντε. τοῦ δὲ Ἀκεγχήρης ἕτερος δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας τρεῖς. τοῦ δὲ Ἅρμαϊς τέσσαρα καὶ μῆνα ἕνα. τοῦ δὲ Ῥαμέσσης ἓν καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας. τοῦ δὲ Ἁρμέσσης Μιαμοῦν ἑξήκοντα ἓξ καὶ μῆνας δύο. τοῦ δὲ Ἀμένωφις
98 δεκαεννέα καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. τοῦ δὲ Σέθως ὁ καὶ Ῥαμέσσης[2] ἱππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν ἔχων δύναμιν

[1] Μανεθῶνος L.
[2] Σέθως ὁ καὶ Ῥαμ. Eus.: Σέθωσις καὶ Ῥαμέσσης L.

into Egypt. However, I propose to investigate these matters more fully elsewhere.[a]

(15) For the moment I am citing the Egyptians as witnesses to our antiquity. I will therefore resume my extracts from Manetho bearing on the chronology. The following are his words : Subsequent kings of Egypt.

"After the departure of the pastoral people from Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethmosis,[b] the king who expelled them from Egypt, reigned twenty-five years and four months, and on his death the kingdom passed to his son Chebron, who reigned thirteen years. After him Amenophis reigned twenty years and seven months ; then his sister Amesses twenty-one years and nine months ; her son Mephres twelve years and nine months ; then from father to son Mephramouthosis twenty-five years and ten months, Thmosis nine years and eight months, Amenophis thirty years and ten months, Orus thirty-six years and five months ; his daughter Akenchĕres twelve years and one month ; her brother Rathotis nine years ; then from father to son Akenchēres twelve years and five months, Akenchēres II twelve years and three months, Harmais four years and one month, Ramesses one year and four months, Harmesses Miamoun sixty-six years and two months, Amenophis nineteen years and six months, and then Sethosis,[c] also called Ramesses. The last-named king, who possessed an army of cavalry and Ram(es)ses II c. 1340-1273 B.C.

[a] Perhaps looking on to §§ 227 ff., where he reverts to Manetho. But we should expect ὕστερον or the like ; ἐν ἄλλοις usually refers to a separate work.

[b] Called Thoummosis above, § 88. Perhaps Thmosis (§ 96) is the correct form.

[c] Perhaps "Sethos" (*cf.* § 231).

τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν Ἁρμαῒν ἐπίτροπον τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατέστησεν καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἄλλην βασιλικὴν περιέθηκεν ἐξουσίαν, μόνον δὲ ἐνετείλατο διάδημα μὴ φορεῖν μηδὲ τὴν βασιλίδα μητέρα τε τῶν τέκνων ἀδικεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
99 βασιλικῶν παλλακίδων. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Κύπρον καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ πάλιν Ἀσσυρίους τε καὶ Μήδους στρατεύσας ἅπαντας, τοὺς μὲν δόρατι, τοὺς δὲ ἀμαχητὶ φόβῳ δὲ τῆς πολλῆς δυνάμεως ὑποχειρίους ἔλαβε, καὶ μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις ἔτι καὶ θαρσαλεώτερον ἐπεπορεύετο τὰς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς
100 πόλεις τε καὶ χώρας καταστρεφόμενος. χρόνου τε ἱκανοῦ γεγονότος Ἁρμαῒς ὁ καταλειφθεὶς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάντα τἄμπαλιν οἷς ἀδελφὸς[1] παρῄνει μὴ ποιεῖν ἀδεῶς ἔπραττεν· καὶ γὰρ τὴν βασιλίδα βιαίως ἔσχεν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις παλλακίσιν ἀφειδῶς διετέλει χρώμενος, πειθόμενος δὲ[2] ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων
101 διάδημα ἐφόρει καὶ ἀντῆρε τῷ ἀδελφῷ. ὁ δὲ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν[3] τῆς Αἰγύπτου γράψας βιβλίον ἔπεμψε τῷ Σεθώσει, δηλῶν αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ ὅτι ἀντῆρεν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ[4] Ἁρμαῒς. παραχρῆμα οὖν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Πηλούσιον καὶ ἐκράτησεν
102 τῆς ἰδίας βασιλείας. ἡ δὲ χώρα ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος Αἴγυπτος." λέγει γὰρ ὅτι ὁ μὲν

[1] ἀδελφὸς Gutschmid: ἀδελφὸς L.
[2] τε Niese.
[3] Hudson (after Lat. and Eus.): ἱερέων L.
[4] Niese: αὐτοῦ L.

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[a] In § 231 called Hermaeus.
[b] The MS. has the marginal note: "In another copy was found this reading: 'After him Sethosis and Ramesses, two brothers. The former, possessing a strong fleet, blockaded

a strong fleet, made his brother Harmais [a] viceroy of Egypt [b] and conferred upon him all the royal prerogatives, except that he enjoined upon him not to wear a diadem, not to wrong the queen, the mother of his children, and to show similar respect to the royal concubines. He then departed on a campaign against Cyprus and Phoenicia, and later against the Assyrians and Medes, and with or without a contest, through the terror inspired by his mighty army, reduced all these nations to submission. Emboldened by these successes he, with yet greater audacity, continued his advance, subduing the cities and districts of the east. Meanwhile, some time after his departure, Harmais, whom he had left in Egypt, unscrupulously defied all his brother's injunctions. He violated the queen, freely indulged himself with the concubines, and, at the instigation of his friends, put on a diadem and rose in revolt against his brother. The keeper of the Egyptian temples thereupon wrote a letter which he sent to Sethosis, telling him everything, including the insurrection of his brother Harmais. Sethosis instantly returned to Pelusium and recovered his kingdom; and the country was called after him Aegyptus."

†his maritime opponents who were causing great loss of life† [text doubtful]. Not long after he slew Ramesses and appointed Harmais, another of his brothers, viceroy of Egypt.'" See note [a] on p. 196, and, for the naval action of Sethos(is) in the Red Sea, Herod. ii. 102, to which Josephus alludes in *A.* viii. 260 ff.; Herodotus calls him Sesostris, Josephus there identifies him with Shishak, the enemy of Rehoboam. The relationship of Ramesses to Sethos(is) is variously stated in the accounts. In the text above R. is another name of Sethos(is); in the marginal note he is his brother; in § 231 below Rampses is his son.

Σέθως ἐκαλεῖτο Αἴγυπτος, Ἁρμαῒς δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Δαναός.

103 (16) Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Μανέθως. δῆλον δ' ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐτῶν τοῦ χρόνου συλλογισθέντος ὅτι οἱ καλούμενοι ποιμένες, ἡμέτεροι δὲ[1] πρόγονοι, τρισὶ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίοις πρόσθεν ἔτεσιν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπαλλαγέντες τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἐπῴκησαν ἢ Δαναὸν εἰς Ἄργος ἀφικέσθαι· καίτοι
104 τοῦτον ἀρχαιότατον Ἀργεῖοι νομίζουσι. δύο τοίνυν ὁ Μανέθως ἡμῖν τὰ μέγιστα μεμαρτύρηκεν ἐκ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἑτέρωθεν ἄφιξιν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαλλαγὴν οὕτως ἀρχαίαν τοῖς χρόνοις, ὡς ἐγγύς που προτερεῖν[2] αὐτὴν τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσι χιλίοις.
105 ὑπὲρ ὧν δ' ὁ Μανέθως οὐκ ἐκ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων,[3] ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς ὡμολόγηκεν ἐκ τῶν ἀδεσπότως μυθολογουμένων προστέθεικεν, ὕστερον ἐξελέγξω κατὰ μέρος ἀποδεικνὺς τὴν ἀπίθανον αὐτοῦ ψευδολογίαν.

106 (17) Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἀπὸ τούτων ἤδη[4] μετελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Φοίνιξιν ἀναγεγραμμένα περὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἐκείνων μαρτυρίας παρα-
107 σχεῖν. ἔστι τοίνυν παρὰ Τυρίοις ἀπὸ παμπόλλων[5] ἐτῶν γράμματα δημοσίᾳ γεγραμμένα καὶ πεφυλαγμένα λίαν ἐπιμελῶς περὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς γενομένων καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους[6] πραχθέντων μνήμης ἀξίων.
108 ἐν τούτοις γέγραπται ὅτι ὁ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ᾠκο-

[1] δὲ Eus.: om. L Lat.
[2] που προτερεῖν Eus., Lat.: τοῦ πρότερον L.
[3] πραγμάτων L.
[4] Eus.: ἔτι L (Lat. *rursus*).
[5] ἀπὸ παμπ.] πολλῶν L Lat.
[6] Gutschmid: ἀλλήλους L Lat.

For Manetho states that Sethos was called Aegyptus and his brother Harmais Danaus.[a]

(16) Such is Manetho's account; and, if the years which he enumerates are summed up, it is clear that the so-called shepherds, our ancestors, left Egypt and settled in our[b] country 393 years[c] before Danaus came to Argos. Yet the Argives regard him as one of the most ancient of men.[d] Manetho has thus furnished us with evidence from Egyptian literature on two most important points: first that we came into Egypt from elsewhere, and secondly, that we left it at a date so remote in the past that it preceded the Trojan War by nearly a thousand years. His additional statements, which he derived not from the Egyptian records, but, as he admits himself, from fables of unknown authorship, I shall refute in detail later on[e] and show the improbability of these lying stories.

Importance of Manetho's evidence.

(17) I therefore now propose to pass on to the allusions to our race in the Phoenician chronicles, and to produce the evidence which they afford. For very many years past the people of Tyre have kept public records, compiled and very carefully preserved by the state, of the memorable events in their internal history and in their relations with foreign nations. It is there recorded that the Temple at

(B) *Phoenician* evidence: (i) Tyrian archives.

[a] *Cf.* § 231. [b] Lit. "this."

[c] The total length of the reigns enumerated in chap. 15 from the expulsion of the Hycsos to the *accession* of Sethosis is only 333 years. To this Josephus (or his source) seems to have added sixty years for the reign of Sethosis, the duration of which is given in § 231 as fifty-nine years.

[d] The mythical Inachus was held to be still more ancient. [e] §§ 227 ff.

δομήθη ναὸς ὑπὸ Σολόμωνος τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτεσι θᾶττον ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τρισὶν καὶ μησὶν
109 ὀκτὼ τοῦ κτίσαι Τυρίους Καρχηδόνα. ἀνεγράφη δὲ παρ' ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἀλόγως[1] ἡ τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευὴ τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν· Εἴρωμος γὰρ ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς φίλος ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν Σολόμωνος
110 πατρικὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν διαδεδεγμένος. οὗτος οὖν συμφιλοτιμούμενος εἰς τὴν τοῦ κατασκευάσματος τῷ Σολόμωνι λαμπρότητα χρυσίου μὲν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔδωκε τάλαντα, τεμὼν δὲ καλλίστην ὕλην ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους, ὃ καλεῖται Λίβανος, εἰς τὸν ὄροφον ἀπέστειλεν. ἀντεδωρήσατο δὲ αὐτὸν[2] ὁ Σολόμων ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ γῇ κατὰ χώραν
111 τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐν τῇ Χαβουλὼν λεγομένῃ. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς εἰς φιλίαν ἡ τῆς σοφίας συνῆγεν ἐπιθυμία· προβλήματα γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀνταπέστελλον λύειν κελεύοντες, καὶ κρείττων ἐν τούτοις ἦν ὁ Σολόμων <ὢν>[3] καὶ τἆλλα σοφώτερος. σώζονται δὲ μέχρι νῦν παρὰ τοῖς Τυρίοις πολλαὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἃς ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔγραψαν.
112 Ὅτι δ' οὐ λόγος ἐστὶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ συγκείμενος ὁ περὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Τυρίοις γραμμάτων, παραθήσομαι μάρτυρα Δῖον, ἄνδρα περὶ τὴν Φοινικικὴν

[1] οὐκ ἀλόγως Eus.: om. L Lat.
[2] Naber: αὐτῷ L. The text of the whole sentence is doubtful.
[3] ins. Niese.

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[a] Calculation derived from the duration of the reigns of the Tyrian kings; see chap. 18, especially § 126, below. The date given for the foundation of Carthage varies in different authorities from c. 1234 to c. 793 B.C.
[b] Biblical Hiram, occasionally spelt Hirom (חירום).

Jerusalem was built by King Solomon 143 years and eight months before the foundation of Carthage by the Tyrians.[a] There was good reason why the erection of our temple should be mentioned in their records, for Hirom,[b] king of Tyre, was a friend of our king Solomon, a friendship which he had inherited from his father.[c] Sharing Solomon's zeal for the splendour of the edifice, Hirom gave him 120 talents of gold, and also cut down the finest timber from the mountain called Libanus and sent it to him for the roof. In return Solomon, among many other gifts, made him a present of land in Galilee in the district called Chabulon.[d] But the main bond of friendship between them was their passion for learning. They used to send each other problems to solve; in these Solomon showed the greater proficiency, as, in general, he was the cleverer of the two. Many of the letters which they exchanged are preserved at Tyre to this day.[e] Temple begun c. 1012 B.C.

To prove that these assertions about the Tyrian archives are not of my own invention, I will call upon Dius,[f] who is regarded as an accurate historian of (i) Dius on Solomon's riddles.

[c] *Cf.* 2 Sam. v. 11, 1 Kings v. 1, where it is Solomon who inherits from *his* father David a friendship with Hiram.

[d] 1 Kings ix. 10-13. The district apparently took its name from the town or village of Cabul, called Chabolo in the *Life* § 213.

[e] Letters between Hiram and Solomon on the building of the temple are given in 1 Kings v., paraphrased in Josephus, *A.* viii. 50-54, and others of a more literary character are quoted from Eupolemus (2nd cent. B.C.) in Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 33 f. None of these refer to the riddles mentioned below; the origin of these may perhaps be sought in the story of the Queen of Sheba and her "hard questions" (1 Kings x. 1).

[f] The same extract is quoted in *A.* viii. 147. Nothing more is known of Dius.

ἱστορίαν ἀκριβῆ γεγονέναι πεπιστευμένον. οὗτος τοίνυν ἐν ταῖς περὶ Φοινίκων ἱστορίαις γράφει τὸν
113 τρόπον τοῦτον· " Ἀβιβάλου τελευτήσαντος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Εἴρωμος ἐβασίλευσεν. οὗτος τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μέρη τῆς πόλεως προσέχωσεν καὶ μεῖζον τὸ ἄστυ ἐποίησεν[1] καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς τὸ ἱερόν, καθ' ἑαυτὸ ὂν ἐν νήσῳ, χώσας τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον συνῆψε τῇ πόλει καὶ χρυσοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐκόσμησεν, ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς τὸν Λίβανον ὑλοτόμησεν πρὸς τὴν τῶν
114 ναῶν[2] κατασκευήν. τὸν δὲ τυραννοῦντα Ἱεροσολύμων Σολομῶνα πέμψαι φασὶ πρὸς τὸν Εἴρωμον αἰνίγματα καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀξιοῦν, τὸν δὲ μὴ δυνηθέντα διακρῖναι τῷ λύσαντι χρήματα ἀπο-
115 τίνειν. ὁμολογήσαντα δὲ τὸν Εἴρωμον καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντα λῦσαι τὰ αἰνίγματα πολλὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς τὸ ἐπιζήμιον ἀναλῶσαι. εἶτα δὲ[3] Ἀβδήμουνόν τινα Τύριον ἄνδρα τὰ προτεθέντα λῦσαι καὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλα προβαλεῖν, ἃ μὴ λύσαντα τὸν Σολομῶνα πολλὰ τῷ Εἰρώμῳ προσαποτῖσαι χρήματα." Δῖος μὲν οὖν οὕτω περὶ τῶν προειρημένων ἡμῖν μεμαρτύρηκεν.

116 (18) Ἀλλὰ πρὸς τούτῳ παραθήσομαι καὶ Μένανδρον τὸν Ἐφέσιον. γέγραφεν δὲ οὗτος τὰς ἐφ' ἑκάστου τῶν βασιλέων πράξεις τὰς παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις γενομένας, ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἑκάστοις[4] ἐπιχωρίων γραμμάτων σπουδάσας τὴν ἱστορίαν μαθεῖν.
117 γράφων τοίνυν[5] περὶ τῶν ἐν Τύρῳ βεβασιλευκότων, ἔπειτα γενόμενος κατὰ τὸν Εἴρωμον ταῦτά φησι·

[1] πεποίηκεν L.
[2] ἱερῶν Eus. and Jos. *Ant.* viii. 147.
[3] δὴ L.
[4] Eus., Lat.: ἐκείνοις L.
[5] Eus.: δὴ L.

[a] Or "tyrant."
[b] In *A.* viii. 149 "Abdemon."

Phoenicia, for his witness. In his history of the Phoenicians he writes as follows :

"On the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom came to the throne. He levelled up the eastern part of the city with embankments, enlarged the town, united to it by a causeway the temple of Olympian Zeus, which was isolated on an island, and adorned it with offerings of gold ; he also went up to Libanus and had timber cut down for the construction of temples. It is said that Solomon, the sovereign[a] of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hirom and asked for others from him, on the understanding that the one who failed to solve them should pay a sum of money to him who succeeded. Hirom agreed, and being unable to guess the riddles, spent a large part of his wealth on the fine. Afterwards they were solved by a certain Abdemun[b] of Tyre, who propounded others. Solomon, failing to solve these, paid back to Hirom more than he had received."

Thus has Dius attested my previous statements.

(18) I will, however, cite yet a further witness, Menander of Ephesus.[c] This author has recorded the events of each reign, in Hellenic and non-Hellenic[d] countries alike, and has taken the trouble to obtain his information in each case from the national records. Writing on the kings of Tyre, when he comes to Hirom he expresses himself thus : (iii) MENANDER of Ephesus.

[c] The extract below is quoted also in *A.* viii. 144. The writer is probably the same person as the Menander of *Pergamum* quoted by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. p. 140, § 114) as stating that "Hiram gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon at the time when Menelaus visited Phoenicia after the capture of Troy."

[d] "Barbarian."

“ τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀβιβάλου διεδέξατο τὴν βασι-
λείαν αὐτοῦ ὁ υἱὸς Εἴρωμος, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη νγʹ
118 ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη λδʹ. οὗτος ἔχωσε τὸν Εὐρύχωρον
τόν τε χρυσοῦν κίονα τὸν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Διὸς ἀνέθηκεν,
ἐπί τε[1] ὕλην ξύλων ἀπελθὼν ἔκοψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ λεγο-
μένου ὄρους Λιβάνου κέδρινα ξύλα εἰς τὰς τῶν
ἱερῶν στέγας, καθελών τε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἱερὰ καινοὺς
ναοὺς[2] ᾠκοδόμησεν τόν τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ τῆς
119 Ἀστάρτης,[3] πρῶτόν τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἔγερσιν
ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῷ Περιτίῳ μηνί·[4] τοῖς τε Ἰτυκαίοις[5]
ἐπεστρατεύσατο μὴ ἀποδιδοῦσι τοὺς φόρους, οὓς
120 καὶ ὑποτάξας ἑαυτῷ πάλιν ἀνέστρεψεν. ἐπὶ τούτου
ἦν Ἀβδήμουνος παῖς νεώτερος, ὃς ἀεὶ ἐνίκα[6] τὰ
προβλήματα, ἃ ἐπέταττε Σολομὼν ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων
121 βασιλεύς.” ψηφίζεται δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ
βασιλέως ἄχρι τῆς Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως οὕτως·
τελευτήσαντος Εἰρώμου διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν
Βαλβάζερος[7] υἱός, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη μγʹ ἐβασίλευσεν
122 ἔτη ιζʹ.[8] μετὰ τοῦτον Ἀβδάστρατος υἱὸς βιώσας
ἔτη λθʹ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη θʹ. τοῦτον οἱ τῆς τροφοῦ
αὐτοῦ υἱοὶ τέσσαρες ἐπιβουλεύσαντες ἀπώλεσαν, ὧν
ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐβασίλευσεν[9] Μεθουσάσταρτος ὁ
Δελαιαστάρτου, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη νδʹ ἐβασίλευσεν
123 ἔτη ιβʹ. μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀσθάρυμος

[1] ἐπί τε Eus. (Lat.): ἔπειτα L: ἔτι δὲ Jos. *Ant.* viii. 145.
[2] καινοὺς ναοὺς Dind.: καὶ ναοὺς L.
[3] + τέμενος ἀνιέρευσεν L.
[4] + εἶτα τὸ τῆς Ἀστάρτης L.
[5] τοῖς τε Ἰτ. Gutschmid (*cf. Ant.* viii. 146): ὁπότε Τιτυοῖς L.
[6] + λύων Eus.
[7] Βαλεάζερος L.
[8] ἑπτὰ L Lat.
[9] + ἔτη δεκαδύο and (for Μεθ.) μεθ᾽ οὓς Ἄσταρτος L.

[a] Connecting old Tyre on the mainland with the new island city.

" On the death of Abibalus the kingdom passed to his son Hirom, who lived fifty-three years and reigned thirty-four. He laid the embankment of the Broad Place,[a] dedicated the golden pillar in the temple of Zeus,[b] went and cut down cedar wood on the mount called Libanus for timber for the roofs of temples, demolished the ancient temples, and built new shrines dedicated to Heracles and Astarte. That of Heracles he erected first, in the month Peritius.[c] He undertook a campaign against the people of Utica who refused to pay their tribute, and did not return home till he had reduced them to submission. Under his reign lived Abdemun, a young lad, who always succeeded in mastering the problems set by Solomon, king of Jerusalem."

The period intervening between this king and the foundation of Carthage is computed as follows :

[d] On the death of Hirom the throne passed to his son Balbazer, who lived forty-three years and reigned seventeen. His successor Abdastratus lived thirty-nine years and reigned nine. The four sons of his nurse conspired against him and slew him. The eldest of these, Methusastartus, son of Deleastartus, mounted the throne and lived fifty-four years and reigned twelve. He was followed by his brother, Astharymus, who lived

[b] According to Eupolemus a present from Solomon to Suron (= Hiram) ; Eus. *P.E.* ix. 34. Herod. (ii. 44) saw a golden *stele* in the temple of Heracles, probably the temple here called that of Zeus ; he mentions two temples of Heracles and none of Zeus.

[c] The fourth month of the Macedonian year (? January).

[d] In this paragraph Josephus apparently paraphrases his authority.

βιώσας ἔτη νη΄ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη θ΄. οὗτος ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Φέλλητος, ὃς λαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν ἦρξεν μῆνας η΄ βιώσας ἔτη ν΄. τοῦτον ἀνεῖλεν Ἰθόβαλος ὁ τῆς Ἀστάρτης ἱερεύς, ὃς
124 βιώσας ἔτη μη΄ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη λβ΄. τοῦτον διεδέξατο Βαλέζωρος υἱός, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη με΄ ἐβασίλευσεν
125 ἔτη ἕξ.[1] τούτου διάδοχος γέγονε Μέττηνος[2] υἱός, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη λβ΄ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη κθ΄.[3] τούτου διάδοχος γέγονεν Πυγμαλίων, ὃς βιώσας ἔτη νη΄[4] ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη μζ΄. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἑβδόμῳ ἔτει ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ φυγοῦσα ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ πόλιν ᾠκοδόμησεν Καρχηδόνα.

126 Συνάγεται [δὴ][5] πᾶς ὁ χρόνος ἀπὸ τῆς Εἰρώμου βασιλείας μέχρι Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως ἔτη ρνε΄ μῆνες η΄. ἐπεὶ δὲ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ὁ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ᾠκοδομήθη ναός, γέγονεν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκοδομήσεως τοῦ ναοῦ μέχρι Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως ἔτη ρμγ΄ μῆνες η΄.

127 Τῆς μὲν οὖν παρὰ Φοινίκων μαρτυρίας τί δεῖ προσθεῖναι πλέον; βλέπεται γὰρ τἀληθὲς ἰσχυρῶς ὡμολογημένον. καὶ πολὺ δήπου προάγει τῆς τοῦ νεὼ κατασκευῆς ἡ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἄφιξις· ὅτε γὰρ αὐτὴν πᾶσαν πολέμῳ παρέλαβον, τότε τὸν νεὼν κατεσκεύασαν. καὶ ταῦτα σαφῶς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δεδήλωται διὰ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας.

[1] η΄ (elsewhere ιη΄) Eus.: ζ΄ Theophilus.
[2] Μάττηνες L.
[3] *v.ll.* ἐννέα L, ὀκτώ, κε΄.
[4] νϛ΄ L Lat.
[5] ins. *ed. pr.*

fifty-eight years and reigned nine. He was slain by his brother Phelles, who seized the throne and reigned eight months, having reached the age of fifty, when he was slain by Ithobal, priest of Astarte, who lived forty-eight years and reigned thirty-two. He was succeeded by his son Balezor, who lived forty-five years and reigned six. He, in turn, was succeeded by his son Mettēn, who lived thirty-two years and reigned twenty-nine; and he by Pygmalion, who lived fifty-eight years and reigned forty-seven. It was in the seventh year of his reign that his sister [a] took flight, and built the city of Carthage in Libya.

The whole period from the accession of Hirom to the foundation of Carthage thus amounts to 155 years and eight months; [b] and, since the temple at Jerusalem was built in the twelfth year of King Hirom's reign,[c] 143 years and eight months elapsed between the erection of the temple and the foundation of Carthage.

What need is there to add further Phoenician evidence? The agreement of the witnesses, as will be seen, affords strong confirmation of their veracity. Of course our ancestors arrived in the country long before the temple was built; for it was not until they had conquered the whole land that they erected it. The facts, derived from the sacred books, have been clearly stated in my *Archaeology*.[d]

[a] Elissa, commonly known as Dido.

[b] There has been some corruption in the figures for the individual reigns, which do not amount to the total here given.

[c] The source for this statement is unknown. In *A*. viii. 62 the date given for the commencement of the building is the *eleventh* year of Hiram's reign.

[d] *A*. viii. 61 f.

128 (19) Λέξω δὲ νῦν ἤδη τὰ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις ἀναγεγραμμένα καὶ ἱστορούμενα περὶ ἡμῶν, ἅπερ ἔχει πολλὴν ὁμολογίαν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ἡμετέ-
129 ροις γράμμασι. μάρτυς δὲ τούτων Βηρῶσος, ἀνὴρ Χαλδαῖος μὲν τὸ γένος, γνώριμος δὲ τοῖς περὶ παιδείαν ἀναστρεφομένοις, ἐπειδὴ περί τε ἀστρονομίας καὶ περὶ τῶν παρὰ Χαλδαίοις φιλοσοφουμένων αὐτὸς εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξήνεγκε τὰς συγγραφάς.
130 οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ Βηρῶσος ταῖς ἀρχαιοτάταις ἐπακολουθῶν ἀναγραφαῖς περί τε τοῦ γενομένου κατακλυσμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ φθορᾶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καθάπερ Μωυσῆς, οὕτως ἱστόρηκεν καὶ περὶ τῆς λάρνακος, ἐν ᾗ Νῶχος ὁ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχηγὸς διεσώθη προσενεχθείσης αὐτῆς ταῖς ἀκρωρείαις
131 τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὀρῶν. εἶτα τοὺς ἀπὸ Νώχου καταλέγων καὶ τοὺς χρόνους αὐτοῖς προστιθεὶς ἐπὶ Ναβοπαλάσσαρον παραγίνεται, τὸν Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Χαλ-
132 δαίων βασιλέα, καὶ τὰς τούτου πράξεις ἀφηγούμενος λέγει τίνα τρόπον πέμψας ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν γῆν τὸν υἱὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορον[1] μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως, ἐπειδήπερ ἀφεστῶτας αὐτοὺς ἐπύθετο,[2] πάντων ἐκράτησε καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνέπρησε τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ὅλως τε πάντα τὸν παρ' ἡμῶν λαὸν ἀναστήσας εἰς Βαβυλῶνα μετῴκισεν· συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐρημωθῆναι χρόνον ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα μέχρι Κύρου
133 τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως. κρατῆσαι δέ φησι τὸν Βαβυλώνιον Αἰγύπτου Συρίας Φοινίκης Ἀραβίας, πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενον ταῖς πράξεσι τοὺς πρὸ

[1] Ναβοκοδρόσορον (after Eus.) Niese; and so below.
[2] Emend. (after Eus. and Lat.) L. Bos: ὑπέθετο L.

(19) I will now proceed to the allusions made to us in the records and literature of the Chaldaeans; on various points these are in close agreement with our own scriptures. My witness here is Berosus,[a] a Chaldaean by birth, but familiar in learned circles through his publication for Greek readers of works on Chaldaean astronomy and philosophy. This author, following the most ancient records, has, like Moses, described the flood and the destruction of mankind thereby, and told of the ark in which Noah, the founder of our race, was saved when it landed on the heights of the mountains of Armenia.[b] Then he enumerates Noah's descendants, appending dates, and so comes down to Nabopalassar, king of Babylon and Chaldaea. In his narrative of the actions of this monarch he relates how he sent his son Nabuchodonosor with a large army to Egypt and to our country, on hearing that these people had revolted, and how he defeated them all, burnt the temple at Jerusalem,[c] dislodged and transported our entire population to Babylon, with the result that the city lay desolate for seventy years until the time of Cyrus, king of Persia. He adds that the Babylonian monarch conquered Egypt, Syria, Phoenicia, and Arabia, his exploits surpassing those of all previous kings of Chaldaea

(C) *Chaldaean* evidence: Berosus.

On the flood.

625–604 B.C.

Nebuchadrezzar 604-561 B.C.

c. 537 B.C.

[a] Beros(s)us, priest of the temple of Bel at Babylon, c. 330-250 B.C., wrote a history of Babylon (Χαλδαϊκά or Βαβυλωνικά) comprising at least three books (§ 142), besides works on astronomy and astrology.

[b] An extract from his account of the flood is given in *A.* i. 93. The name mentioned by Berosus was not Noah, but, as we learn from Syncellus, Xisuthrus.

[c] The burning of the temple, not mentioned in the extract which follows, is presumably interpolated by Josephus, and erroneously placed in the reign of Nabopalassar.

αὐτοῦ[1] Χαλδαίων καὶ Βαβυλωνίων βεβασιλευκότας.
134 [εἶθ' ἑξῆς ὑποκαταβὰς ὀλίγον ὁ Βηρῶσος πάλιν
παρατίθεται ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἱστοριο-
γραφίᾳ.][2] αὐτὰ δὲ παραθήσομαι τὰ τοῦ Βηρώσου
135 τοῦτον ἔχοντα τὸν τρόπον· "ἀκούσας δ' ὁ πατὴρ
αὐτοῦ Ναβοπαλάσαρος ὅτι ὁ τεταγμένος σατράπης
ἔν τε Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν Συρίαν τὴν Κοίλην
καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην τόποις ἀποστάτης γέγονεν, οὐ
δυνάμενος αὐτὸς ἔτι κακοπαθεῖν, συστήσας τῷ
υἱῷ Ναβουχοδονοσόρῳ ὄντι ἔτι ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μέρη τινὰ
136 τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτόν. συμμίξας δὲ
Ναβουχοδονόσορος τῷ ἀποστάτῃ καὶ παραταξά-
μενος αὐτοῦ τ' ἐκυρίευσε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν[3] βασιλείαν ἐποιήσατο. τῷ τε πατρὶ
αὐτοῦ συνέβη Ναβοπαλασάρῳ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν
καιρὸν ἀρρωστήσαντι ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίων πόλει
μεταλλάξαι τὸν βίον ἔτη βεβασιλευκότι κα΄.[4]
137 αἰσθόμενος δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευ-
τὴν Ναβουχοδονόσορος, καταστήσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν
Αἴγυπτον πράγματα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν χώραν, καὶ
τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Φοινίκων καὶ
Σύρων [καὶ] τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐθνῶν συν-
τάξας τισὶ τῶν φίλων μετὰ τῆς βαρυτάτης δυνάμεως
καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ὠφελείας ἀνακομίζειν εἰς τὴν Βα-
βυλωνίαν, αὐτὸς ὁρμήσας ὀλιγοστὸς παρεγένετο
138 διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. καταλαβὼν δὲ τὰ
πράγματα διοικούμενα ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων καὶ δια-
τηρουμένην τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου αὐτῶν,
κυριεύσας[5] ὁλοκλήρου τῆς πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς μὲν
αἰχμαλώτοις παραγενομένοις συνέταξεν[6] ἀποικίας

[1] *ed. pr.*: αὐτῶν L.

and Babylon.[a] But I will quote Berosus's own words, which are as follows :[b]

" His father Nabopalassar, hearing of the defection of the satrap in charge of Egypt, Coele-Syria, and Phoenicia, and being himself unequal to the fatigues of a campaign, committed part of his army to his son Nabuchodonosor, still in the prime of life, and sent him against the rebel. Nabuchodonosor engaged and defeated the latter in a pitched battle and replaced the district under Babylonian rule. Meanwhile, as it happened, his father Nabopalassar sickened and died in the city of Babylon, after a reign of twenty-one years. Being informed ere long of his father's death, Nabuchodonosor settled the affairs of Egypt and the other countries. The prisoners—Jews, Phoenicians, Syrians, and those of Egyptian nationality—were consigned to some of his friends, with orders to conduct them to Babylonia, along with the heavy troops and the rest of the spoils ; while he himself, with a small escort, pushed across the desert to Babylon. There he found the administration in the hands of the Chaldaeans and the throne reserved for him by their chief nobleman. Being now master of his father's entire realm, he gave orders to allot to the captives, on

On Nabuchodonosor.

[a] Here follows the gloss : " Then again [a passage] a little lower down in Berosus is cited in his history of antiquity " (or perhaps " in the narrative of the *Antiquities*," with reference to *A*. x. 219).

[b] The passage is quoted also in *A*. x. 220 ff.

[2] The bracketed words, omitted by Eus. and Lat., are an obvious gloss in cod. L.

[3] αὐτοῦ Eus. cod. and *A*. x. 221. [4] Eus. : εἰκοσιεννέα L.

[5] + ἐξ L. [6] Text follows *A*. x.

ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις τῆς Βαβυλωνίας τόποις
139 ἀποδεῖξαι, αὐτὸς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λαφύρων τό τε Βήλου ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κοσμήσας φιλοτίμως τήν τε ὑπάρχουσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλιν †καὶ ἑτέραν ἔξωθεν προσχαρισάμενος καὶ ἀναγκάσας,†[1] πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναστρέφοντας ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασκευάζειν,[2] περιεβάλετο τρεῖς μὲν τῆς ἔνδον πόλεως περιβόλους, τρεῖς δὲ τῆς ἔξω, τούτων [δὲ] τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πλίν-
140 θου. καὶ τειχίσας ἀξιολόγως τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας κοσμήσας ἱεροπρεπῶς προσκατεσκεύασεν τοῖς πατρικοῖς βασιλείοις ἕτερα βασίλεια ἐχόμενα ἐκείνων, ὧν[3] τἀνάστημα[4] καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πολυτέλειαν μακρὸν ἴσως ἔσται ἐάν τις ἐξηγῆται, πλὴν ὄντα γε ὑπερβολὴν ὡς μεγάλα καὶ ὑπερήφανα συν-
141 ετελέσθη ἡμέραις δεκάπεντε. ἐν δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις τούτοις ἀναλήμματα λίθινα ὑψηλὰ ἀνοικοδομήσας καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἀποδοὺς ὁμοιοτάτην τοῖς ὄρεσι, καταφυτεύσας δένδρεσι παντοδαποῖς, ἐξειργάσατο καὶ κατεσκεύασε τὸν καλούμενον κρεμαστὸν παράδεισον διὰ τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς ὀρείας διαθέσεως τεθραμμένην ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Μηδίαν τόποις."

142 (20) Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως[5] ἱστόρηκεν περὶ τοῦ προειρημένου βασιλέως καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βίβλῳ τῶν Χαλδαϊκῶν, ἐν ᾗ μέμφεται τοῖς Ἑλλη-

[1] Text corrupt. Perhaps for ἀναγκάσας read ἀνακαινίσας with two MSS. of *A.* (or ἀναχώσας Gutschmid), omit the preceding καὶ and transpose the participle after πόλιν. For προσχαρισ. προσοχυρισάμενος has been suggested (Herwerden).
[2] *accedere* Lat.

their arrival, settlements in the most suitable districts of Babylonia. He then magnificently decorated the temple of Bel and the other temples with the spoils of war, †restored† the old city, and added a new one outside the walls, and, in order to prevent the possibility in any future siege of †access being gained† to the city by a diversion of the course of the river, he enclosed both the inner and the outer city with three lines of ramparts, those of the inner city being of baked brick and bitumen, those of the outer city of rough brick. After fortifying the city on this grand scale and adorning the gateways in a manner worthy of their sanctity, he constructed a second palace adjoining that of his father. It would perhaps be tedious to describe the towering height and general magnificence of this building; it need only be remarked that, notwithstanding its immense and imposing proportions, it was completed in fifteen days. Within this palace he erected lofty stone terraces, in which he closely reproduced mountain scenery, completing the resemblance by planting them with all manner of trees and constructing the so-called hanging garden[a]; because his wife, having been brought up in Media, had a passion for mountain surroundings."

(20) Such is the account given by Berosus of this king, besides much more in the third book of his *History of Chaldaea*, where he censures the Greek

Further evidence of Berosus.

[a] Regarded as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. A fuller account is quoted from Ctesias in Diodorus, ii. 7 ff.

[3] ὧν *A.*: ὑπὲρ ὧν Syncellus: ἑταίρων L.
[4] Gutschmid: ἀνάστημα L. [5] οὗτος Naber.

νικοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν ὡς μάτην οἰομένοις ὑπὸ Σεμι-
ράμεως τῆς Ἀσσυρίας κτισθῆναι τὴν Βαβυλῶνα
καὶ τὰ θαυμάσια κατασκευασθῆναι περὶ αὐτὴν ὑπ'
143 ἐκείνης ἔργα ψευδῶς γεγραφόσι. καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα
τὴν μὲν τῶν Χαλδαίων ἀναγραφὴν ἀξιόπιστον
ἡγητέον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κἀν τοῖς ἀρχείοις τῶν Φοι-
νίκων σύμφωνα τοῖς ὑπὸ Βηρώσου λεγομένοις ἀνα-
γέγραπται περὶ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως, ὅτι
καὶ τὴν Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ἅπασαν ἐκεῖνος
144 κατεστρέψατο. περὶ τούτων γοῦν συμφωνεῖ καὶ
Φιλόστρατος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις μεμνημένος τῆς
Τύρου πολιορκίας, καὶ Μεγασθένης ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ
τῶν Ἰνδικῶν, δι' ἧς ἀποφαίνειν πειρᾶται τὸν προ-
ειρημένον βασιλέα τῶν Βαβυλωνίων Ἡρακλέους
ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ μεγέθει πράξεων διενηνοχέναι· κατα-
στρέψασθαι γὰρ αὐτόν φησι καὶ Λιβύης τὴν πολλὴν
καὶ Ἰβηρίαν.

145 Τὰ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ προειρημένα τοῦ ἐν Ἱερο-
σολύμοις, ὅτι κατεπρήσθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων
ἐπιστρατευσάντων, ἤρξατο δὲ πάλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖ-
σθαι Κύρου τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν βασιλείαν παρειληφότος,
ἐκ τῶν Βηρώσου σαφῶς ἐπιδειχθήσεται παρα-
146 τεθέντων· λέγει γὰρ οὕτως διὰ τῆς τρίτης· "Ναβου-
χοδονόσορος μὲν οὖν μετὰ τὸ ἄρξασθαι τοῦ προειρη-
μένου τείχους ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀρρωστίαν μετήλλαξε
τὸν βίον βεβασιλευκὼς ἔτη μγ', τῆς δὲ βασιλείας
κύριος ἐγένετο ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Εὐειλμαράδουχος.

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[a] Ctesias (4th cent.) is the main authority for the story of Semiramis and Ninus, the mythical founders of the Assyrian Empire; *cf.* Herod. i. 184.

[b] Philostratus, writer on Indian and Phoenician history, known to us only through Josephus; *cf. A.* x. 228 (allusion to the same passage).

historians[a] for their deluded belief that Babylon was founded by the Assyrian Semiramis and their erroneous statement that its marvellous buildings were her creation. On these matters the Chaldaean account must surely be accepted. Moreover, statements in accordance with those of Berosus are found in the Phoenician archives, which relate how the king of Babylon subdued Syria and the whole of Phoenicia. To the same effect writes Philostratus in his *History*, where he mentions the siege of Tyre,[b] and Megasthenes[c] in the fourth book of his *History of India*, where he attempts to prove that this king of Babylon, who according to this writer subdued the greater part of Libya and Iberia, was in courage and in the grandeur of his exploits more than a match for Heracles.[d]

The assertions which were made above[e] concerning the temple at Jerusalem, that it was burnt down by the Babylonian invaders and that its re-erection began on the succession of Cyrus to the throne of Asia, will be clearly proved by a further quotation from Berosus. His words in his third book are as follows:

"After beginning the wall of which I have spoken, Nabuchodonosor fell sick and died, after a reign of forty-three years, and the realm passed to his son Evilmaraduch. This prince, whose

[c] The writer to whom later Greek authors mainly owed their knowledge of India; was sent by Seleucus I (Nicator) on an embassy to the Indian king Chandragupta (Sandracottus) *c.* 300 B.C.

[d] The same passage is referred to in *A.* x. 227, and quoted (from Abydenus) in Eus. *P.E.* ix. 41.

[e] § 132. The quotation which follows obviously affords no proof of these assertions.

147 οὗτος προστὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνόμως καὶ ἀσελγῶς
ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ
Νηριγλισάρου[1] ἀνῃρέθη βασιλεύσας ἔτη β΄. μετὰ
δὲ τὸ ἀναιρεθῆναι τοῦτον διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ
ἐπιβουλεύσας αὐτῷ Νηριγλίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη
148 δ΄. τούτου υἱὸς Λαβοροσοάρδοχος[2] ἐκυρίευσε μὲν
τῆς βασιλείας παῖς ὢν μῆνας θ΄, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ
διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐμφαίνειν κακοήθη ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπ-
149 ετυμπανίσθη. ἀπολομένου δὲ τούτου συνελθόντες
οἱ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες αὐτῷ κοινῇ τὴν βασιλείαν
περιέθηκαν Ναβοννήδῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος
ὄντι ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπισυστάσεως. ἐπὶ τούτου τὰ
περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τείχη τῆς Βαβυλωνίων πόλεως ἐξ
150 ὀπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου κατεκοσμήθη. οὔσης
δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἑπτακαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει
προεξεληλυθὼς Κῦρος ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος μετὰ δυνά-
μεως πολλῆς [καὶ][3] καταστρεψάμενος τὴν λοιπὴν
βασιλείαν[4] πᾶσαν ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας.
151 αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ναβόννηδος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ,
ἀπαντήσας μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραταξάμενος,
ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ φυγὼν ὀλιγοστὸς συν-
152 εκλείσθη εἰς τὴν Βορσιππηνῶν πόλιν. Κῦρος δὲ
Βαβυλῶνα καταλαβόμενος καὶ συντάξας τὰ ἔξω
τῆς πόλεως τείχη κατασκάψαι διὰ τὸ λίαν αὐτῷ
πραγματικὴν καὶ δυσάλωτον φανῆναι τὴν πόλιν
ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ Βορσίππων[5] ἐκπολιορκήσων τὸν
153 Ναβόννηδον. τοῦ δὲ Ναβοννήδου οὐχ ὑπομείναντος
τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἀλλ' ἐγχειρίσαντος αὑτὸν πρότερον,
χρησάμενος Κῦρος φιλανθρώπως καὶ δοὺς οἰκητή-
ριον αὐτῷ Καρμανίαν ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς Βαβυ-

[1] Eus.: Νηριγλισσοροόρου L (and so below).
[2] Niese: -χοδος L.

government was arbitrary and licentious, fell a victim to a plot, being assassinated by his sister's husband, Neriglisar, after a reign of two years. On his death Neriglisar, his murderer, succeeded to the throne and reigned four years. His son, Laborosoardoch, a mere boy, occupied it for nine months, when, owing to the depraved disposition which he showed, a conspiracy was formed against him, and he was beaten to death by his friends. After his murder the conspirators held a meeting, and by common consent conferred the kingdom upon Nabonnedus, a Babylonian and one of their gang. In his reign the walls of Babylon abutting on the river were magnificently built with baked brick and bitumen. In the seventeenth year of his reign Cyrus advanced from Persia with a large army, and, after subjugating the rest of the kingdom, marched upon Babylonia. Apprised of his coming, Nabonnedus led his army to meet him, fought and was defeated, whereupon he fled with a few followers and shut himself up in the town of Borsippa.[a] Cyrus took Babylon, and after giving orders to raze the outer walls of the city, because it presented a very redoubtable and formidable appearance, proceeded to Borsippa to besiege Nabonnedus. The latter surrendering, without waiting for investment, was humanely treated by Cyrus, who dismissed him from Babylonia, but gave him Carmania[b] for his residence. There

[a] Mod. *Birs Nimrud*, south of Babylon.
[b] A district on the Persian Gulf.

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[3] L: om. Eus., Lat.
[4] Eus.: Ἀσίαν L Lat.
[5] Gutschmid: Βόρσιππον L Eus.

λωνίας. Ναβόννηδος μὲν οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διαγενόμενος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον."

154 (21) Ταῦτα σύμφωνον ἔχει ταῖς ἡμετέραις βίβλοις τὴν ἀλήθειαν. γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς ὅτι Ναβουχοδονόσορος ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἔτει τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν ναὸν ἠρήμωσεν, καὶ ἦν ἀφανὴς ἐπ' ἔτη πεντήκοντα,[1] δευτέρῳ δὲ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἔτει τῶν θεμελίων ὑποβληθέντων δευτέρῳ[2] πάλιν
155 τῆς Δαρείου βασιλείας ἀπετελέσθη. προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν Φοινίκων ἀναγραφάς· οὐ γὰρ παραλειπτέον τῶν ἀποδείξεων τὴν περιουσίαν. ἔστι δὲ
156 τοιαύτη τῶν χρόνων ἡ καταρίθμησις· ἐπ' Ἰθωβάλου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπολιόρκησε Ναβουχοδονόσορος τὴν Τύρον ἐπ' ἔτη δεκατρία. μετὰ τοῦτον ἐβασίλευσε
157 Βαὰλ ἔτη δέκα. μετὰ τοῦτον δικασταὶ κατεστάθησαν καὶ ἐδίκασαν Ἐκνίβαλος Βασλήχου μῆνας β', Χέλβης Ἀβδαίου μῆνας ι', Ἄββαρος[3] ἀρχιερεὺς μῆνας γ', Μύττυνος καὶ Γεράστρατος τοῦ Ἀβδηλίμου δικασταὶ ἔτη ϛ', ὧν μεταξὺ ἐβασίλευσε Βαλά-
158 τορος ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα. τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἀποστείλαντες μετεπέμψαντο Μέρβαλον ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη δ'. τούτου τελευτήσαντος μετεπέμψαντο τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Εἴρωμον,

[1] Eus.: ἑπτά L Lat.
[2] δεκάτῳ Eus. *P.E.*: *sexto* Eus. (Arm.).
[3] *Abalus* Lat. Eus. (Arm.).

[a] "The nineteenth year," according to 2 Kings xxv. 8 and Jer. lii. 12, was the date of the burning of the Temple by Nebuzaradan; the eighteenth year was that of the capture of the city by Nebuchadrezzar (Jer. lii. 29).

[b] The captivity, reckoned from the fall of Zedekiah

Nabonnedus spent the remainder of his life, and there he died."

(21) This statement is both correct and in accordance with our books. For in the latter it is recorded that Nabuchodonosor in the eighteenth [a] year of his reign devastated our temple, that for fifty [b] years it ceased to exist, that in the second [c] year of the reign of Cyrus the foundations were laid, and lastly that in the second [d] year of the reign of Darius it was completed. I must not, however, neglect any of the superabundant proofs available, and will therefore append the Phoenician record.[e] The chronological calculation there appears as follows : agrees with Jewish and Phoenician records.

> Under King Ithobal,[f] Nabuchodonosor besieged Tyre for thirteen years.[g] The next king, Baal, reigned ten years. After him judges were appointed and held office as follows : Eknibal, son of Baslech, two months ; Chelbes, son of Abdaeus, ten months ; Abbar the high-priest, three months ; Myttyn and Gerastratus, son of Abdelimus, six years ; after them Balator was king for one year. On his death his subjects sent to Babylon and fetched from there Merbal, who reigned four years ; and on his death they sent for his brother

(587 B.C.) to the edict in the first year of Cyrus (538 B.C.), lasted forty-nine years. The seventy years of Jer. xxv. 12 (§ 132 above) was a round number.

[c] *Cf.* Ezra iii. 8.

[d] *Cf.* Ez. iv. 24 ; but this date marks the resumption of the interrupted work. The building was not completed till four years later (*ib.* vi. 15).

[e] Probably from Menander of Ephesus.

[f] Ithobal II. An earlier king of the name is mentioned in § 123.

[g] *A.* x. 228 (on the authority of Philostratus).

ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη εἴκοσιν. ἐπὶ τούτου Κῦρος
159 Περσῶν ἐδυνάστευσεν. οὐκοῦν ὁ σύμπας χρόνος
ἔτη νδʹ καὶ τρεῖς μῆνες πρὸς αὐτοῖς· ἑβδόμῳ[1] μὲν
γὰρ ἔτει τῆς Ναβουχοδονοσόρου βασιλείας ἤρξατο
πολιορκεῖν Τύρον, τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῳ δ' ἔτει τῆς
Εἰρώμου Κῦρος ὁ Πέρσης τὸ κράτος παρέλαβεν.
160 καὶ σύμφωνα μὲν ἐπὶ[1] τοῦ ναοῦ τοῖς ἡμετέροις
γράμμασι τὰ Χαλδαίων καὶ Τυρίων, ὡμολογημένη
δὲ καὶ ἀναντίρρητος ἡ περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων μοι
μαρτυρία τῆς τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχαιότητος. τοῖς
μὲν οὖν μὴ σφόδρα φιλονείκοις ἀρκέσειν ὑπολαμ-
βάνω τὰ προειρημένα.

161 (22) Δεῖ δ' ἄρα καὶ τῶν ἀπιστούντων μὲν ταῖς
ἐν[2] τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀναγραφαῖς μόνοις δὲ τοῖς
Ἕλλησι πιστεύειν ἀξιούντων ἀποπληρῶσαι τὴν
ἐπιζήτησιν, καὶ παρασχεῖν πολλοὺς καὶ τούτων
ἐπισταμένους τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν καὶ καθ' ὃ καιρὸς ἦν
αὐτοῖς μνημονεύοντας παραθέσθαι ἐν ἰδίοις αὐτῶν
συγγράμμασι.
162 Πυθαγόρας τοίνυν ὁ Σάμιος ἀρχαῖος ὤν, σοφίᾳ
δὲ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείᾳ πάντων ὑπειλημ-
μένος διενεγκεῖν τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων, οὐ μόνον
ἐγνωκὼς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν δῆλός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζη-
163 λωτὴς αὐτῶν ἐκ πλείστου γεγενημένος. αὐτοῦ μὲν
οὖν οὐδὲν ὁμολογεῖται σύγγραμμα, πολλοὶ δὲ τὰ

[1] Text probably corrupt.
[2] ταῖς ἐν *ed. pr.*: om. L.

[a] The total of the component figures given above is fifty-five years three months. The total of Josephus seems to be reached by giving μεταξύ its classical sense, "between," and excluding the one year of Balator. Reinach, with Gutschmid,

Hirom, who reigned twenty years. It was in his reign that Cyrus became monarch of Persia.

The whole period thus amounts to fifty-four years and three months.[a] For it was in the seventh[b] year of his reign that Nabuchodonosor began the siege of Tyre, and in the fourteenth year of Hirom's reign that Cyrus the Persian came into power. Thus there is complete agreement, on the subject of the temple, between our own books and those of the Chaldaeans and Tyrians, and the evidence for my assertions as to the antiquity of our race is consistent and incontrovertible. None but the most contentious of critics, I imagine, could fail to be content with the arguments already adduced.

(22) I am, however, it seems, under the further obligation of satisfying the requirements of persons who put no faith in non-Hellenic documents, and maintain that none but Greeks are to be trusted. I must therefore produce a further array of these authors who were acquainted with our nation, and quote the occasional allusions which they make to us in their own works. (D) *Greek* evidence.

Now, Pythagoras,[c] that ancient sage of Samos, who for wisdom and piety is ranked above all the philosophers, evidently not only knew of our institutions, but was even in those distant ages[d] an ardent admirer of them. Of the master himself we possess no (1.) PYTHAGORAS.

corrects the total to fifty years three months, to agree with the fifty years of § 154 above.

[b] (?) Read "seventeenth."

[c] The famous head of the fraternity of Crotona in S. Italy in the 6th century B.C.

[d] ἐκ πλείστου elsewhere in Josephus (*A*. xv. 223) has a temporal sense "long since." Whiston, however, renders "to a very great degree," and so Reinach.

περὶ αὐτὸν ἱστορήκασι, καὶ τούτων ἐπισημότατός ἐστιν Ἕρμιππος, ἀνὴρ περὶ πᾶσαν ἱστορίαν ἐπι-
164 μελής. λέγει τοίνυν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν περὶ Πυθαγόρου βιβλίων ὅτι Πυθαγόρας, ἑνὸς αὐτοῦ τῶν συνουσιαστῶν τελευτήσαντος, τοὔνομα Καλλιφῶντος τὸ γένος Κροτωνιάτου, τὴν ἐκείνου ψυχὴν ἔλεγε συνδιατρίβειν αὐτῷ καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ'[1] ἡμέραν, καὶ ὅτι παρεκελεύετο μὴ διέρχεσθαι τόπον ἐφ' ὃν ἂν[2] ὄνος ὀκλάσῃ, καὶ τῶν διψίων ὑδάτων
165 ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ πάσης [ἀπέχειν] βλασφημίας. εἶτα προστίθησι μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τάδε· "ταῦτα δὲ ἔπραττε καὶ ἔλεγε τὰς Ἰουδαίων καὶ Θρᾳκῶν δόξας μιμούμενος καὶ μεταφέρων εἰς ἑαυτόν." λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος πολλὰ τῶν παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις νομίμων εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ μετενεγκεῖν φιλοσοφίαν.

166 Ἦν δὲ καὶ κατὰ πόλεις οὐκ ἄγνωστον ἡμῶν πάλαι τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐθῶν εἴς τινας ἤδη διαπεφοιτήκει καὶ ζήλου παρ' ἐνίοις ἠξιοῦτο.
167 δηλοῖ δὲ ὁ Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς περὶ νόμων· λέγει γὰρ ὅτι κωλύουσιν οἱ Τυρίων νόμοι ξενικοὺς ὅρκους ὀμνύειν, ἐν οἷς μετά τινων ἄλλων καὶ τὸν καλούμενον ὅρκον κορβὰν καταριθμεῖ. παρ' οὐδενὶ δ' ἂν οὗτος εὑρεθείη πλὴν μόνοις Ἰουδαίοις, δηλοῖ

[1] μεθ' *ed. pr.*: καθ' L.
[2] ὃν ἂν *ed. pr.*: ὃν L, οὗ ἂν Niese.

[a] Of Smyrna, 3rd cent. B.C.; wrote biographies of the philosophers and others.

[b] Possibly referring to the fable of the Jewish cult of the ass (*Ap.* ii. 80, etc.); allusion to the story of Balaam (Numb. xxii. 27) is improbable.

[c] Lit. "thirsty"; exact sense uncertain. The Latin version has "dirty" (*feculenta*); Reinach "brackish." J.

authentic work, but his history has been told by many writers. The most distinguished of these is Hermippus,[a] always a careful historian. Now, in the first book of his work on Pythagoras, this author states that the philosopher, on the death of one of his disciples, named Calliphon, a native of Crotona, remarked that his pupil's soul was with him night and day, and admonished him not to pass a certain spot, on which an ass had collapsed,[b] to abstain from thirst-producing [c] water, and to avoid all calumny.[d] Then he proceeds as follows :

> " In practising and repeating these precepts he was imitating and appropriating the doctrines of Jews and Thracians."

In fact, it is actually said [e] that that great man introduced many points of Jewish law into his philosophy.

In ancient times various cities were acquainted with the existence of our nation, and to some of these many of our customs have now found their way, and here and there been thought worthy of imitation. This is apparent from a passage in the work of Theophrastus [f] on *Laws*, where he says that the laws of the Tyrians prohibit the use of foreign oaths, in enumerating which he includes among others the oath called " Corban." Now this oath will be found in no other nation except the Jews, and, translated (ii.) THEOPHRASTUS.

Müller quotes from Diogenes Laertius an allusion to the Pythagorean practice of drinking plain water (λιτὸν ὕδωρ).

[d] *Cf*. Ex. xxii. 28 ; Lev. xix. 16.

[e] *e.g.* by Aristobulus *ap*. Eus. *P.E.* xiii. 12, 664 A.

[f] Pupil and successor of Aristotle as head of the Peripatetic school. His work on *Laws*, recapitulating the laws of various nations, seems to have been designed as a pendant to Aristotle's *Politics*. Another allusion of his to the Jews is quoted by Eusebius, *P.E.* ix. 2, 404 A.

δ᾽, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραίων μεθερμηνευό-
μενος διαλέκτου δῶρον θεοῦ.
168 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ[1] Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Ἁλικαρνασεὺς ἠγνόη-
κεν ἡμῶν τὸ ἔθνος, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τινὶ φαίνεται
μεμνημένος. περὶ γὰρ Κόλχων ἱστορῶν ἐν τῇ
169 δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ φησὶν οὕτως· "μοῦνοι δὲ πάντων,"
φησί, "Κόλχοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περι-
τέμνονται ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα. Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ
Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ οὗτοι[2] ὁμολογοῦσι
170 παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι. Σύριοι δὲ οἱ περὶ
Θερμώδοντα καὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν καὶ Μά-
κρωνες οἱ τούτοισιν ἀστυγείτονες ὄντες ἀπὸ
Κόλχων φασὶ νεωστὶ μεμαθηκέναι. οὗτοι γάρ
εἰσιν οἱ περιτεμνόμενοι ἀνθρώπων μοῦνοι καὶ
οὗτοι Αἰγυπτίοισι φαίνονται ποιοῦντες κατὰ ταὐτά.
αὐτῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθιόπων οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν
171 ὁπότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἑτέρων ἐξέμαθον." οὐκοῦν
εἴρηκε Σύρους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ περιτέμνε-
σθαι· τῶν δὲ τὴν Παλαιστίνην κατοικούντων μόνοι
τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν Ἰουδαῖοι. τοῦτο ἄρα γιγνώσκων
εἴρηκεν περὶ αὐτῶν.
172 Καὶ Χοιρίλος δὲ ἀρχαῖος[3] γενόμενος ποιητὴς
μέμνηται τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν, ὅτι συνεστράτευται

[1] *ed. pr.*: οὔτε L. [2] αὐτοὶ Herodotus.
[3] Eus., Lat.: ἀρχαιότερος L.

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[a] Strictly "a gift," as interpreted in Josephus, *A.* iv. 73, Mark vii. 11; of oblations to God in the sense of "tabooed," and then apparently used of the oath which accompanied the vow. For *corban* as an oath *cf.* Matt. xxiii. 16 with J. Lightfoot's note in *Hor. Hebr.*

[b] Herod. ii. 104; a passage to which Josephus alludes in *A.* viii. 262.

from the Hebrew, one may interpret it as meaning "God's gift.[a]"

Nor, again, has our nation been ignored even by Herodotus of Halicarnassus, who has an evident, if not explicit, allusion to it. Speaking of the Colchians in his second book,[b] he makes the following statement: (iii.) HERODOTUS.

> "The Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians are the only nations with whom the practice of circumcision is primitive. The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine[c] admit that they learnt it from the Egyptians. The Syrians on the banks of the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius,[d] and their neighbours the Macrones,[e] say that they have adopted it recently from the Colchians. These are the only circumcised peoples in the world, and it is clear that they all imitate the Egyptians. Of the two nations of Egypt and Ethiopia, I cannot say which learnt the practice from the other."

Herodotus thus says that the Palestinian Syrians were circumcised; but the Jews are the only inhabitants of Palestine who adopt this practice. He must therefore have known this, and his allusion is to them.

Again, Choerilus,[f] an ancient poet, mentions our race as taking part in the expedition of Xerxes, king (iv.) CHOERILUS.

[c] If, as is probable, Herodotus refers to the Philistines, he was mistaken, as they were uncircumcised in Biblical times. Josephus is therefore justified in inferring that he alludes to the Jews.

[d] Rivers in Asia Minor. [e] In Pontus.

[f] Of Samos, a younger contemporary and friend of Herodotus. A few other fragments of his epic poem on the war of the Greeks and Persians are extant, *e.g.* in Strabo vii. 9. 303.

Ξέρξῃ τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καταριθμησάμενος γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τελευταῖον καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον ἐνέταξε λέγων·

173 τῶν δ' ὄπιθεν διέβαινε γένος θαυμαστὸν ἰδέσθαι,
γλῶσσαν μὲν Φοίνισσαν ἀπὸ στομάτων ἀφιέντες,
ᾤκουν[1] δ' ἐν Σολύμοις ὄρεσι πλατέῃ παρὰ[2] λίμνῃ,
αὐχμαλέοι κορυφὰς τροχοκουράδες, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν
ἵππων δαρτὰ πρόσωπ' ἐφόρουν ἐσκληκότα καπνῷ.

174 δῆλον οὖν ἐστιν, ὡς οἶμαι, πᾶσιν ἡμῶν αὐτὸν μεμνῆσθαι τῷ καὶ τὰ Σόλυμα ὄρη ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ εἶναι χώρᾳ, ἃ κατοικοῦμεν, καὶ τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν λεγομένην λίμνην· αὕτη γὰρ πασῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ λίμνη[3] πλατυτέρα καὶ μείζων καθέστηκεν.

175 Καὶ Χοιρίλος μὲν οὖν οὕτω μέμνηται ἡμῶν· ὅτι δὲ οὐ μόνον ἠπίσταντο τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ὅσοις αὐτῶν ἐντύχοιεν οὐχ οἱ φαυλότατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ μάλιστα
176 τεθαυμασμένοι, ῥᾴδιον γνῶναι. Κλέαρχος γὰρ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους ὢν μαθητὴς καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου φιλοσόφων οὐδενὸς δεύτερος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ

[1] So (or ᾤκεον) Eus.: ὤικεε L.
[2] Eus.: ἐνὶ L, ἐπὶ Niese.
[3] λιμνῶν Eus.

[a] Josephus adopts an older identification of Solymi and its supposed derivative, Hierosolyma, with the Jews and Jerusalem, and equates the "broad lake" with the Dead Sea. His inference is more ingenious than sound. The people referred to in the above lines are doubtless the eastern Ethiopians. Choerilus takes over "the Solymian hills" from Homer, *Od.* v. 283 (where they are named immediately after the Ethiopians); he has also in mind the description of his friend Herodotus of the E. Ethiopians in his catalogue of Xerxes' army (Herod. vii. 70). These differed from the W. Ethiopians "only in their language and their hair."

of Persia, against Greece. After enumerating all the other nations, he finally includes ours in these lines :

" Closely behind passed over a race of wonderful aspect ;
Strangely upon their lips the tongue of Phoenicia sounded ;
In the Solymian hills by a broad lake their habitation ;
Shorn in a circle, unkempt was the hair on their heads, and above them
Proudly they wore their hides of horse-heads, dried in the hearth-smoke."

It is obvious, I imagine, to everybody that he is referring to us, because the Solymian hills are in our country and inhabited by us ; there too is the so-called Bituminous Lake, which is broader and more extensive than all the lakes in Syria.[a] Here then we have an allusion to us in Choerilus.

(v.) ARISTOTLE on the authority of CLEARCHUS.

Not only did the Greeks know the Jews, but they admired any of their number whom they happened to meet. This statement applies not to the lowest class of Greeks, but to those with the highest reputation for wisdom, and can easily be proved. Clearchus, a disciple of Aristotle, and in the very first rank of peripatetic philosophers, relates, in his first

They had " straight hair," and " wore upon their heads the scalps of horses, with the ears and mane attached . . . the ears being made to stand upright " (*ibid.*). They spoke Phoenician, because " the Phoenicians, according to their own account, originally dwelt by the Red Sea " (*ib.* vii. 89)—the " broad lake " of the poet. The round tonsure was practised by the neighbouring Arabs (*ib.* iii. 8), but was expressly forbidden to the Jews (Lev. xix. 27 ; *cf.* Jer. ix. 26).

ὕπνου βιβλίῳ φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλην τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ περί τινος ἀνδρὸς Ἰουδαίου ταῦτα ἱστορεῖν, αὐτῷ τε τὸν λόγον Ἀριστοτέλει περιτίθησι[1]· ἔστι
177 δὲ οὕτω γεγραμμένον· "ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ μακρὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν, ὅσα δ' ἔχει τῶν ἐκείνου θαυμασιότητά τινα καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ὁμοίως διελθεῖν οὐ χεῖρον. σαφῶς δ' ἴσθι, εἶπεν, Ὑπεροχίδη, [θαυμαστὸν][2] ὀνείροις ἴσα σοι δόξω λέγειν. καὶ ὁ Ὑπεροχίδης εὐλαβούμενος, δι' αὐτὸ γάρ, ἔφη, τοῦτο καὶ ζητοῦ-
178 μεν ἀκοῦσαι πάντες. οὐκοῦν, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, κατὰ τὸ τῶν ῥητορικῶν παράγγελμα τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον διέλθωμεν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπειθῶμεν τοῖς τῶν ἀπαγγελιῶν[3] διδασκάλοις. λέγε, εἶπεν ὁ Ὑπε-
179 ροχίδης, οὕτως εἰ[4] δοκεῖ. κἀκεῖνος τοίνυν τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν Ἰουδαῖος ἐκ τῆς κοίλης Συρίας. οὗτοι δ' εἰσιν ἀπόγονοι τῶν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς φιλοσόφων, καλοῦνται δέ, ὥς φασιν, οἱ φιλόσοφοι παρὰ μὲν Ἰνδοῖς Καλανοί, παρὰ δὲ Σύροις Ἰουδαῖοι, τοὔνομα λαβόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου· προσαγορεύεται γὰρ ὃν κατοικοῦσι τόπον Ἰουδαία. τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ὄνομα πάνυ σκολιόν ἐστιν· Ἱερουσαλήμην[5]
180 γὰρ αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν. οὗτος οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπιξενούμενός τε πολλοῖς κἀκ τῶν ἄνω τόπων εἰς τοὺς ἐπιθαλαττίους ὑποκαταβαίνων Ἑλληνικὸς ἦν οὐ
181 τῇ διαλέκτῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ. καὶ τότε

[1] Gutschmid: παρατιθεὶς L, ἀνατίθησι Eus.
[2] Om. Eus. cod. [3] Eus.: ἐπαγγελιῶν L.
[4] οὕτως εἰ Eus., Lat.: εἴ τί σοι L.
[5] Ἱερουσαλὴμ Eus.: *hierosolyma* Lat.

[a] Quoted also by Eus. *P.E.* ix. 5.

book on Sleep, the following anecdote told of a certain Jew by his master. He puts the words into the mouth of Aristotle himself. I quote the text :[a]

" 'It would take too long to repeat the whole story, but there were features in that man's character, at once strangely marvellous and philosophical, which merit description. I warn you, Hyperochides,' he said, 'that what I am about to say will seem to you as wonderful as a dream.' Hyperochides respectfully replied, 'That is the very reason why we are all anxious to hear it.' 'Well,' said Aristotle, 'in accordance with the precepts of rhetoric, let us begin by describing his race, in order to keep to the rules of our masters in the art of narration.' 'Tell the story as you please,' said Hyperochides. 'Well,' he replied, 'the man was a Jew of Coele-Syria. These people are descended from the Indian philosophers.[b] The philosophers, they say, are in India called Calani,[c] in Syria by the territorial name of Jews ; for the district which they inhabit is known as Judaea. Their city has a remarkably odd name : they call it Hierusaleme. Now this man, who was entertained by a large circle of friends and was on his way down from the interior to the coast, not only spoke Greek, but had the soul of a Greek.

[b] Clearchus in his work *On Education* traced the descent of the Indian gymnosophists from the Magi, and Diogenes Laertius (proem. 9), who is our authority, adds, " Some assert that the Jews also are descended from the Magi." Jews and Brahmans are also associated by Megasthenes (Clem. *Strom.* i. 15). I owe this note to Th. Reinach.

[c] Calanus was the name of a gymnosophist who followed Alexander the Great, and burnt himself to death in presence of his army (Plut. *Alex.* 65, etc.).

διατριβόντων ἡμῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν παραβαλὼν εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους ἄνθρωπος[1] ἐντυγχάνει ἡμῖν τε καί τισιν ἑτέροις τῶν σχολαστικῶν πειρώμενος αὐτῶν τῆς σοφίας. ὡς δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ
182 συνῳκείωτο, παρεδίδου τι μᾶλλον ὧν εἶχεν." ταῦτ' εἴρηκεν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης παρὰ τῷ Κλεάρχῳ καὶ προσέτι πολλὴν καὶ θαυμάσιον καρτερίαν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου ἀνδρὸς ἐν τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ σωφροσύνην διεξιών. ἔνεστι δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ πλέον γνῶναι τοῦ βιβλίου· φυλάττομαι γὰρ ἐγὼ [τὰ] πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν παρατίθεσθαι.

183 Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν ἐν παρεκβάσει ταῦτ' εἴρηκεν, τὸ γὰρ προκείμενον ἦν αὐτῷ καθ' ἕτερον, οὕτως ἡμῶν μνημονεῦσαι. Ἑκαταῖος δὲ ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος ἅμα καὶ περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἱκανώτατος, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνακμάσας καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου συγγενόμενος, οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίων συγγέγραφε βιβλίον, ἐξ οὗ βούλομαι κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐπιδραμεῖν ἔνια τῶν
184 εἰρημένων. καὶ πρῶτον ἐπιδείξω τὸν χρόνον· μνημονεύει γὰρ τῆς Πτολεμαίου περὶ Γάζαν πρὸς Δημήτριον μάχης, αὕτη δὲ γέγονεν ἑνδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ ὀλυμπιάδος ἑβδόμης καὶ δεκάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς, ὡς ἱστορεῖ
185 Κάστωρ. προσθεὶς[2] γὰρ ταύτην τὴν ὀλυμπιάδα φησίν· "ἐπὶ ταύτης Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἐνίκα

[1] ἄνθρωπος Eus. (-ον L). [2] προθεὶς Cobet.

[a] At Atarneus, in Mysia, with his friend Hermias, *c.* 347–344 B.C.

[b] That Hecataeus (4th–3rd cent. B.C.) wrote on the Jews, whether a separate work or as part of his History of

During my stay in Asia,[a] he visited the same places as I did, and came to converse with me and some other scholars, to test our learning. But as one who had been intimate with many cultivated persons, it was rather he who imparted to us something of his own.' "

These are the words of Aristotle as reported by Clearchus, and he went on to speak of the great and astonishing endurance and sobriety displayed by this Jew in his manner of life. Further information can be obtained, if desired, from the book itself; I forbear to quote more than is necessary.

This allusion of Aristotle to us is mentioned parenthetically by Clearchus, who was dealing with another subject. Of a different nature is the evidence of Hecataeus of Abdera,[b] at once a philosopher and a highly competent man of affairs, who rose to fame under King Alexander, and was afterwards associated with Ptolemy, son of Lagus. He makes no mere passing allusion to us, but wrote a book entirely about the Jews, from which I propose briefly to touch on some passages. I will begin with fixing his date. He mentions the battle near Gaza between Ptolemy and Demetrius, which, as Castor[c] narrates, was fought eleven years after the death of Alexander, in the 117th Olympiad. For under the head of this Olympiad he says:

(vi.) HECATAEUS.

His book on the Jews.

312 B.C.

" In this period Ptolemy, son of Lagus, defeated

Egypt, appears certain. But it is no less certain that apocryphal Jewish productions were fathered upon him. Recent critics (T. Reinach, J. G. Müller) regard the extracts which follow as genuine. All refer to the time of Alexander and the Diadochi and seem above suspicion.

[c] Author of work on chronology, probably 2nd cent. B.C.

κατὰ Γάζαν μάχῃ Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Πολιορκητήν." Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τεθνάναι πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνον καὶ κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον ἤκμαζεν ἡμῶν
186 τὸ ἔθνος. λέγει τοίνυν ὁ Ἑκαταῖος πάλιν τάδε, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἐν Γάζῃ μάχην ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐγένετο τῶν περὶ Συρίαν τόπων ἐγκρατής, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πυνθανόμενοι τὴν ἠπιότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου συναπαίρειν εἰς Αἴγυπτον αὐτῷ καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων ἠβουλήθησαν.
187 "ὧν εἷς ἦν," φησίν, "Ἐζεκίας ἀρχιερεὺς[a] τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἄνθρωπος τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν ὡς ἑξήκοντα ἓξ ἐτῶν, τῷ δ' ἀξιώματι τῷ παρὰ τοῖς ὁμοέθνοις μέγας καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ ἀνόητος, ἔτι δὲ καὶ λέγειν δυνατὸς καὶ τοῖς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, εἴπερ τις
188 ἄλλος, ἔμπειρος. καίτοι," φησίν, "οἱ πάντες ἱερεῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἱ τὴν δεκάτην τῶν γινομένων λαμβάνοντες καὶ τὰ κοινὰ διοικοῦντες περὶ χιλίους
189 μάλιστα καὶ πεντακοσίους εἰσίν." πάλιν δὲ τοῦ προειρημένου μνημονεύων ἀνδρός "οὗτος," φησίν, "ὁ ἄνθρωπος τετευχὼς τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης καὶ συνήθης ἡμῖν γενόμενος, παραλαβών τινας τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τήν [τε] διαφορὰν ἀνέγνω πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς· εἶχεν γὰρ τὴν κατοίκησιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν
190 γεγραμμένην." εἶτα Ἑκαταῖος δηλοῖ πάλιν πῶς ἔχομεν πρὸς τοὺς νόμους, ὅτι πάντα πάσχειν ὑπὲρ

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[a] ἀρχιερεύς (without article) need not mean "the high-priest." Ezechias is not mentioned elsewhere; the high-priest at this epoch was apparently Onias (*A*. xi. 347).

in a battle at Gaza Demetrius, son of Antigonus, surnamed Poliorcetes."

And all agree that Alexander died in the 114th Olympiad. It is evident, therefore, that our race was flourishing both under Ptolemy and under Alexander. 323 B.C.

On Jewish emigration to Alexandria.

Hecataeus goes on to say that after the battle of Gaza Ptolemy became master of Syria, and that many of the inhabitants, hearing of his kindliness and humanity, desired to accompany him to Egypt and to associate themselves with his realm.

"Among these (he says) was Ezechias, a chief priest [a] of the Jews, a man of about sixty-six years of age, highly esteemed by his countrymen, intellectual, and moreover an able speaker and unsurpassed as a man of business. Yet [b] (he adds) the total number of Jewish priests who receive a tithe of the revenue and administer public affairs is about fifteen hundred."

Reverting to Ezechias, he says:

"This man, after obtaining this honour [b] and having been closely in touch with us, assembled some of his friends and read to them [a statement showing] all the advantages [of emigration]; for he had in writing the conditions attaching to their settlement and political status."

In another passage Hecataeus mentions our regard for our laws, and how we deliberately choose and

[b] The exact sense of the word καιτοί in § 188 and of "this honour" in § 189 (the high-priesthood or some special appointment awarded him by Ptolemy Soter ?) is not clear: Josephus is probably condensing his authority.

τοῦ μὴ παραβῆναι τούτους προαιρούμεθα καὶ καλὸν
191 εἶναι νομίζομεν. "τοιγαροῦν," φησί, "καὶ κακῶς ἀκούοντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων καὶ τῶν εἰσαφικνουμένων πάντες[1] καὶ προπηλακιζόμενοι πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῶν Περσικῶν βασιλέων καὶ σατραπῶν οὐ δύνανται μεταπεισθῆναι τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἀλλὰ γεγυμνωμένως περὶ τούτων καὶ αἰκίαις καὶ θανάτοις δεινοτάτοις μάλιστα πάντων ἀπαντῶσι, μὴ ἀρνού-
192 μενοι τὰ πατρῷα.[2]" παρέχεται δὲ καὶ τεκμήρια τῆς ἰσχυρογνωμοσύνης τῆς περὶ τῶν νόμων οὐκ ὀλίγα. φησὶ γάρ, Ἀλεξάνδρου ποτὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι γενομένου καὶ προελομένου τὸ τοῦ Βήλου πεπτωκὸς ἱερὸν ἀνακαθᾶραι καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῦ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὁμοίως φέρειν τὸν χοῦν προστάξαντος, μόνους τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οὐ προσσχεῖν,[3] ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰς ὑπομεῖναι πληγὰς καὶ ζημίας ἀποτῖσαι μεγάλας, ἕως αὐτοῖς συγγνόντα τὸν βασιλέα δοῦναι
193 τὴν ἄδειαν. ἔτι[4] γε μὴν τῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν, φησί, πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφικνουμένων νεὼς καὶ βωμοὺς κατασκευασάντων ἅπαντα ταῦτα κατέσκαπτον, καὶ τῶν μὲν ζημίαν τοῖς σατράπαις ἐξέτινον, περί τινων δὲ καὶ συγγνώμης μετελάμβανον. καὶ προσεπιτίθησιν ὅτι δίκαιον ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτούς ἐστι θαυμάζειν.
194 λέγει δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ πολυανθρωπότατον γεγονέναι ἡμῶν τὸ ἔθνος· πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ ἡμῶν,[5] φησίν, ἀνασπάστους εἰς Βαβυλῶνα Πέρσαι πρότερον [αὐτῶν][6] ἐποίησαν μυριάδας, οὐκ ὀλίγαι δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατον εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ

[1] πάντων *ed. pr.*
[2] πάτρια Niese.
[3] Bekker: προσχεῖν L.
[4] Niese: ἐπεὶ (*sic*) L.
[5] Josephus is paraphrasing; hence no need to reject (Niese) or to emend to αὐτῶν (Bekker).
[6] Om. Lat., Bekker.

hold it a point of honour to endure anything rather than transgress them.

"And so (he says), neither the slander of their neighbours and of foreign visitors, to which as a nation they are exposed, nor the frequent outrages of Persian kings and satraps can shake their determination; for these laws, naked and defenceless, they face tortures and death in its most terrible form, rather than repudiate the faith of their forefathers." On the loyalty of Jews to their laws.

Of this obstinacy in defence of their laws he furnishes several instances. He tells how on one occasion Alexander, when he was at Babylon and had undertaken to restore the ruined temple of Bel,[a] gave orders to all his soldiers, without distinction, to bring materials for the earthworks; and how the Jews alone refused to obey, and even submitted to severe chastisement and heavy fines, until the king pardoned them and exempted them from this task. Again, when temples and altars were erected in the country by its invaders, the Jews razed them all to the ground, paying in some cases a fine to the satraps, and in others obtaining pardon. For such conduct, he adds, they deserve admiration. Then he goes on to speak of our vast population, stating that, though many myriads of our race had already been deported to Babylon by the Persians,[b] yet after Alexander's death myriads more migrated to Egypt On their vast population.

[a] This enterprise is attested by Arrian, *Exped. Alex.* vii. 17, and Strabo, xvi. 1. 5, 738. I owe these references to Reinach.

[b] A mistake of Hecataeus for the Chaldaeans; a Jewish forger (as the writer here quoted is suspected of being) would not have been guilty of such a confusion.

195 Φοινίκην μετέστησαν διὰ τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ στάσιν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς χώρας ἣν κατοικοῦμεν καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἱστόρηκεν· "τριακοσίας γὰρ μυριάδας ἀρουρῶν σχεδὸν τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ παμφορωτάτης χώρας νέμονται," φησίν· "ἡ γὰρ
196 Ἰουδαία τοσαύτη πλάτος[1] ἐστίν." ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καλλίστην τε καὶ μεγίστην ἐκ παλαιοτάτου κατοικοῦμεν καὶ περὶ πλήθους ἀνδρῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ νεὼ κατασκευῆς
197 οὕτως αὐτὸς[2] διηγεῖται· "ἔστι γὰρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ὀχυρώματα κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ κῶμαι, μία δὲ πόλις ὀχυρὰ πεντήκοντα μάλιστα σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον, ἣν οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἀνθρώπων περὶ δώδεκα μυριάδες, καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ἱεροσό-
198 λυμα. ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶ κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως περίβολος λίθινος, μῆκος ὡς πεντάπλεθρος, εὖρος δὲ πηχῶν ρʹ, ἔχων διπλᾶς πύλας· ἐν ᾧ βωμός ἐστι τετράγωνος ἀτμήτων συλλέκτων ἀργῶν λίθων οὕτω συγκείμενος, πλευρὰν μὲν ἑκάστην εἴκοσι πηχῶν, ὕψος δὲ δεκάπηχυ. καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν οἴκημα μέγα, οὗ βωμός ἐστι καὶ λυχνίον, ἀμφότερα χρυσᾶ
199 δύο τάλαντα τὴν ὁλκήν. ἐπὶ τούτων φῶς ἐστιν ἀναπόσβεστον καὶ τὰς νύκτας καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας.

[1] Hudson: πλῆθος L.
[2] ὁ αὐτὸς (after Lat.) Bekker.

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[a] See § 86, note.
[b] Galilee alone had 204 cities and villages in the time of Josephus (*Vita*, 235).
[c] The *stade* was a little longer than our furlong. 50 *stades* is an exaggeration. Other estimates are 40 *stades* (Timochares *ap.* Eus. *P.E.* ix. 35, Aristeas, 105); 33 (Josephus, *B.* v. 159); 27 ("the land surveyor of Syria," *ap.* Eus. *ib.* 36,

and Phoenicia in consequence of the disturbed condition of Syria.

On the extent of Judaea.

The same writer has referred to the extent and beauty of the country which we inhabit in the following words :

"They occupy almost three million *arourae* [a] of the most excellent and fertile soil, productive of every variety of fruits. Such is the extent of Judaea."

On Jerusalem and the Temple.

Again, here is his description of Jerusalem itself, the city which we have inhabited from remote ages, of its great beauty and extent, its numerous population, and the temple buildings :

"The Jews have many fortresses and villages in different parts of the country,[b] but only one fortified city, which has a circumference of about fifty *stades* [c] and some hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants ; they call it Jerusalem.[d] Nearly in the centre of the city stands a stone wall, enclosing an area about five *plethra* [e] long and a hundred [f] cubits broad, approached by a pair of gates. Within this enclosure is a square altar, built of heaped up stones, unhewn and unwrought ; each side is twenty cubits long and the height ten cubits. Beside it stands a great edifice, containing an altar and a lampstand, both made of gold, and weighing two talents ; upon these is a light which is never extinguished by night or day. There is

whose figure for the 2nd cent. B.C. is probably nearest the mark).

[d] "Hierosolyma."

[e] The *plethron* was 100 Greek (about 98 English) feet.

[f] Another exaggeration apparently; 60 cubits was the breadth prescribed by Cyrus (Ezra vi. 3).

ἄγαλμα δ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδ' ἀνάθημα τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ
φύτευμα παντελῶς οὐδέν, οἷον ἀλσῶδες ἤ τι τοιοῦ-
τον. διατρίβουσι δ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς νύκτας καὶ
τὰς ἡμέρας ἱερεῖς ἁγνείας τινὰς ἁγνεύοντες καὶ τὸ
200 παράπαν οἶνον οὐ πίνοντες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ." ἔτι γε μὴν
ὅτι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνεστρατεύσαντο[1]
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς διαδόχοις αὐτοῦ μεμαρτύρηκεν·
οἷς δ' αὐτὸς παρατυχεῖν φησιν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Ἰουδαίου
κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν γενομένοις, τοῦτο[2] παραθήσο-
201 μαι. λέγει δ' οὕτως· "ἐμοῦ γοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυ-
θρὰν θάλασσαν βαδίζοντος συνηκολούθει τις μετὰ
τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παραπεμπόντων ἡμᾶς ἱππέων
Ἰουδαίων[3] ὄνομα Μοσόλλαμος, ἄνθρωπος ἱκανὸς
κατὰ ψυχήν, εὔρωστος καὶ τοξότης[4] δὴ πάντων
ὁμολογουμένως[5] καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρ-
202 βάρων ἄριστος. οὗτος οὖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος διαβαδι-
ζόντων πολλῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ μάντεώς τινος
ὀρνιθευομένου καὶ πάντας ἐπισχεῖν ἀξιοῦντος ἠρώ-
203 τησε, διὰ τί προσμένουσι. δείξαντος δὲ τοῦ μάν-
τεως αὐτῷ τὸν ὄρνιθα καὶ φήσαντος, ἐὰν μὲν αὐτοῦ
μένῃ προσμένειν συμφέρειν πᾶσιν, ἐὰν δ' ἀναστὰς
εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν πέτηται προάγειν, ἐὰν δ' εἰς τοὔ-
πισθεν ἀναχωρεῖν αὖθις, σιωπήσας καὶ παρελκύσας
τὸ τόξον ἔβαλε καὶ τὸν ὄρνιθα πατάξας ἀπέκτεινεν.
204 ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τοῦ μάντεως καί τινων ἄλλων
καὶ καταρωμένων αὐτῷ, "τί μαίνεσθε," ἔφη,
"κακοδαίμονες;" εἶτα τὸν ὄρνιθα λαβὼν εἰς τὰς
χεῖρας, "πῶς γάρ," ἔφη, "οὗτος τὴν αὑτοῦ σωτη-

[1] Eus., Lat.: συνεστρατεύομεν L.
[2] L Eus.: ταῦτα Niese.
[3] Ἰουδαῖος conj. Niese.
[4] + ὑπὸ Eus.
[5] Niese (after Lat.): ὁμολογούμενος L Eus.

not a single statue or votive offering, no trace of a plant, in the form of a sacred grove or the like. Here priests pass their nights and days performing certain rites of purification, and abstaining altogether from wine while in the temple." [a]

The author further attests the share which the Jews took in the campaigns both of King Alexander and of his successors. One incident on the march, in which a Jewish soldier was concerned, he states that he witnessed himself. I will give the story in his own words : On Mosollamus, the Jewish archer.

"When I was on the march towards the Red Sea, among the escort of Jewish cavalry which accompanied us was one named Mosollamus,[b] a very intelligent man, robust, and, by common consent, the very best of bowmen, whether Greek or barbarian. This man, observing that a number of men were going to and fro on the route and that the whole force was being held up by a seer who was taking the auspices, inquired why they were halting. The seer pointed out to him the bird he was observing, and told him that if it stayed in that spot it was expedient for them all to halt ; if it stirred and flew forward, to advance ; if backward, then to retire. The Jew, without saying a word, drew his bow, shot and struck the bird, and killed it. The seer and some others were indignant, and heaped curses upon him. 'Why so mad, you poor wretches ?' he retorted ; and then, taking the bird in his hands, continued, 'Pray, how could any sound information about our

[a] Lev. x. 9 ; Ezek. xliv. 21 : *cf. Ap.* ii. 108.
[b] Hellenized form of Meshullam (Ezra viii. 16).

ρίαν οὐ προϊδὼν περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πορείας ἡμῖν
ἄν τι ὑγιὲς ἀπήγγελλεν; εἰ γὰρ ἠδύνατο προγιγ-
νώσκειν τὸ μέλλον, εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον οὐκ ἂν
ἦλθε, φοβούμενος μὴ τοξεύσας αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ
Μοσόλλαμος ὁ Ἰουδαῖος."
205 Ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν Ἑκαταίου μαρτυριῶν ἅλις· τοῖς
γὰρ βουλομένοις πλείω μαθεῖν τῷ βιβλίῳ ῥᾴδιόν
ἐστιν ἐντυχεῖν. οὐκ ὀκνήσω δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπ' εὐ-
ηθείας διασυρμῷ, καθάπερ αὐτὸς οἴεται, μνήμην
206 πεποιημένον ἡμῶν Ἀγαθαρχίδην ὀνομάσαι. δι-
ηγούμενος γὰρ τὰ περὶ Στρατονίκην, ὃν τρόπον ἦλθεν
μὲν εἰς Συρίαν ἐκ Μακεδονίας καταλιποῦσα τὸν
ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα Δημήτριον, Σελεύκου δὲ γαμεῖν αὐτὴν
οὐ θελήσαντος, ὅπερ ἐκείνη προσεδόκησεν, ποιου-
μένου [δὲ][1] τὴν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος στρατείαν αὐτοῦ,
207 τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐνεωτέρισεν· εἶθ' ὡς
ἀνέστρεψεν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἁλισκομένης τῆς Ἀντιο-
χείας, εἰς Σελεύκειαν φυγοῦσα, παρὸν αὐτῇ ταχέως
ἀποπλεῖν, ἐνυπνίῳ κωλύοντι πεισθεῖσα ἐλήφθη καὶ
208 ἀπέθανεν· ταῦτα προειπὼν ὁ Ἀγαθαρχίδης καὶ
ἐπισκώπτων τῇ Στρατονίκῃ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν
παραδείγματι χρῆται τῷ περὶ ἡμῶν λόγῳ καὶ
209 γέγραφεν οὕτως. "οἱ καλούμενοι Ἰουδαῖοι πόλιν
οἰκοῦντες ὀχυρωτάτην πασῶν, ἣν καλεῖν Ἱεροσό-
λυμα συμβαίνει τοὺς ἐγχωρίους, ἀργεῖν εἰθισμένοι
δι' ἑβδόμης ἡμέρας καὶ μήτε[2] τὰ ὅπλα βαστάζειν

[1] Om. Lat. [2] Bekker: μηδὲ L.

[a] Of Cnidos, 2nd cent. B.C., author of many historical and geographical works, in particular one on the Erythraean (Red) Sea.

[b] Stratonice, daughter of Antiochus I (Soter), was married to Demetrius II of Macedonia. When Demetrius contracted

march be given by this creature, which could not provide for its own safety? Had it been gifted with divination, it would not have come to this spot, for fear of being killed by an arrow of Mosollamus the Jew.' "

But I have given enough evidence from Hecataeus; any who care to pursue the subject can easily peruse his book. There is another writer whom I shall name without hesitation, although he mentions us only to ridicule our folly, as he regards it—I mean Agatharchides.[a] He is telling the story of Stratonice,[b] how she deserted her husband Demetrius and came from Macedonia to Syria, and how, when Seleucus disappointed her by refusing to marry her, she created a revolution at Antioch while he was starting on a campaign from Babylon; and then how, after the king's return and the capture of Antioch, she fled to Seleucia,[c] and instead of taking sail immediately, as she might have done, let herself be stopped by a dream, was captured and put to death. After telling this story and deriding the superstition of Stratonice, Agatharchides quotes in illustration a tale told about us. The following are his words:[d] (vii.) AGATHARCHIDES.

" The people known as Jews, who inhabit the most strongly fortified of cities, called by the natives Jerusalem,[e] have a custom of abstaining from work every seventh day; on those occasions On Jewish observance of the Sabbath.

a second marriage, about 239 B.C., she fled for aid to her nephew, Seleucus II (Callinicus). A slightly different account in Justin, xxviii. 1.

[c] Seleucia Pieria, the Syrian port near the mouth of the Orontes.

[d] Quoted in a condensed form in *A.* xii. 6.

[e] " Hierosolyma."

ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένοις χρόνοις μήτε γεωργίας ἅπτεσθαι μήτε ἄλλης ἐπιμελεῖσθαι λειτουργίας μηδεμιᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐκτετακότες τὰς χεῖρας εὔχεσθαι
210 μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας, εἰσιόντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀντὶ τοῦ φυλάττειν τὴν πόλιν διατηρούντων τὴν ἄνοιαν, ἡ μὲν πατρὶς εἰλήφει δεσπότην πικρόν, ὁ δὲ νόμος ἐξηλέγχθη φαῦλον ἔχων ἐθισμόν.
211 τὸ δὲ συμβὰν πλὴν ἐκείνων τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας δεδίδαχε τηνικαῦτα φυγεῖν εἰς[1] ἐνύπνια καὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦ νόμου παραδεδομένην ὑπόνοιαν, ἡνίκα ἂν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς περὶ τῶν διαπορου-
212 μένων ἐξασθενήσωσιν." τοῦτο μὲν Ἀγαθαρχίδῃ καταγέλωτος ἄξιον δοκεῖ, τοῖς δὲ μὴ μετὰ δυσμενείας ἐξετάζουσι φαίνεται μέγα καὶ πολλῶν ἄξιον ἐγκωμίων, εἰ καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ πατρίδος ἄνθρωποί τινες νόμων φυλακὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν εὐσέβειαν ἀεὶ προτιμῶσιν.

213 (23) Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ἔνιοι τῶν συγγραφέων τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ φθόνου τινὸς ἢ δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας οὐχ ὑγιεῖς τὴν μνήμην παρέλιπον, τεκμήριον οἶμαι παρέξειν. Ἱερώνυμος γὰρ ὁ τὴν περὶ τῶν διαδόχων ἱστορίαν συγγεγραφὼς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν ἦν Ἑκαταίῳ χρόνον, φίλος δ' ὢν Ἀντιγόνου
214 τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν Συρίαν ἐπετρόπευεν. ἀλλ' ὅμως Ἑκαταῖος μὲν καὶ βιβλίον ἔγραψε περὶ ἡμῶν, Ἱερώνυμος δ' οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐμνη-

[1] εἰς L Lat.: om. Grotius, the sense then being "to avoid dreams . . . when . . ."

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[a] Date unknown. Appian refers to the reduction of Jerusalem by Ptolemy I (*Syr.* 50).

[b] Of Cardia in the Thracian Chersonese, *c.* 360-265; his

they neither bear arms nor take any agricultural operations in hand, nor engage in any other form of public service, but pray with outstretched hands in the temples until the evening. Consequently, because the inhabitants, instead of protecting their city, persevered in their folly, Ptolemy, son of Lagus, was allowed to enter with his army;[a] the country was thus given over to a cruel master, and the defect of a practice enjoined by law was exposed. That experience has taught the whole world, except that nation, the lesson not to resort to dreams and traditional fancies about the law, until its difficulties are such as to baffle human reason."

Agartharchides finds such conduct ridiculous; dispassionate critics will consider it a grand and highly meritorious fact that there are men who consistently care more for the observance of their laws and for their religion than for their own lives and their country's fate.

(23) That the omission of some historians to mention our nation was due, not to ignorance, but to envy or some other disingenuous reason, I think I am in a position to prove. Hieronymus,[b] who wrote the history of Alexander's successors, was a contemporary of Hecataeus, and, owing to his friendship with King Antigonus,[c] became governor of Syria. Yet, whereas Hecataeus devoted a whole book to us, Hieronymus, although he had lived almost within

Malicious silence of Hieronymus etc.

history of the Diadochi from the death of Alexander to that of Pyrrhus was a leading authority on that period. His Syrian appointment is not mentioned elsewhere.

[c] Surnamed the One-eyed, *c.* 381-301 B.C., general of Alexander and after his death monarch of Asia.

μόνευσε, καίτοι σχεδὸν ἐν τοῖς τόποις διατετριφώς. τοσοῦτον αἱ προαιρέσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων διήνεγκαν· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐδόξαμεν καὶ σπουδαίας εἶναι μνήμης ἄξιοι, τῷ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν πάντως τι πάθος
215 οὐκ εὔγνωμον ἐπεσκότησεν. ἀρκοῦσι δ' ὅμως εἰς τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀρχαιότητος αἵ τε Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων καὶ Φοινίκων ἀναγραφαὶ πρὸς ἐκείναις τε τοσοῦτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς.
216 ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις Θεόφιλος καὶ Θεόδοτος καὶ Μνασέας καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Ἑρμογένης, Εὐήμερός τε καὶ Κόνων καὶ Ζωπυρίων καὶ πολλοί τινες ἄλλοι τάχα, οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε πᾶσιν ἐντετύχηκα τοῖς βιβλίοις, οὐ παρέργως ἡμῶν
217 ἐμνημονεύκασιν. οἱ πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνδρῶν τῆς μὲν ἀληθείας τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πραγμάτων διήμαρτον, ὅτι μὴ ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἡμῶν βίβλοις ἐνέτυχον, κοινῶς μέντοι περὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἅπαντες με-
218 μαρτυρήκασιν, ὑπὲρ ἧς τὰ νῦν λέγειν προεθέμην. ὁ μέντοι Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος καὶ Φίλων ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ Εὐπόλεμος οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διήμαρτον. οἷς συγγιγνώσκειν ἄξιον· οὐ γὰρ ἐνῆν αὐτοῖς μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας τοῖς ἡμετέροις γράμμασι παρακολουθεῖν.

219 (24) Ἓν ἔτι μοι κεφάλαιον ὑπολείπεται τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν προτεθέντων τοῦ λόγου, τὰς διαβολὰς καὶ

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[a] Josephus perhaps owes his knowledge of these names to second-hand information, whether written (Alexander Polyhistor or Nicolas of Damascus), or orally supplied by literary friends in Rome. Reinach thinks they are all derived from Alexander Polyhistor. This is probable in the case of the two first named. Theodotus (if the author of a hexameter poem on Sichem and the story of Dinah is meant)

our borders, has nowhere mentioned us in his history. So widely different were the views of these two men. One thought us deserving of serious notice; the eyes of the other, through an ill-natured disposition, were totally blind to the truth. However, our antiquity is sufficiently established by the Egyptian, Chaldaean, and Phoenician records, not to mention the numerous Greek historians. In addition to those already cited, Theophilus, Theodotus, Mnaseas, Aristophanes, Hermogenes, Euhemerus, Conon, Zopyrion,[a] and, may be, many more—for my reading has not been exhaustive—have made more than a passing allusion to us. The majority of these authors have misrepresented the facts of our primitive history, because they have not read our sacred books; but all concur in testifying to our antiquity, and that is the point with which I am at present concerned. Demetrius Phalereus,[b] the elder Philo, and Eupolemus[c] are exceptional in their approximation to the truth, and [their errors] may be excused on the ground of their inability to follow quite accurately the meaning of our records.

Further Greek witnesses.

(24) I have still to deal with one of the topics proposed at the beginning of this work,[d] namely, to

was probably a Samaritan. Mnaseas is mentioned again in *Ap.* ii. 112 and *A.* i. 94. Aristophanes may be the famous Alexandrian librarian. Euhemerus is celebrated for his rationalistic explanation of Greek mythology.

[b] *c.* 345-283 B.C.; an Attic orator and afterwards librarian at Alexandria under Ptolemy I, credited by pseudo-Aristeas and Josephus (*Ap.* ii. 46) with having been instrumental in obtaining a Greek version of the Pentateuch. But he is here probably confused with another Demetrius, a *Jewish* historian.

[c] *Jewish* writers on Biblical subjects of the second cent. B.C.: "the elder Philo" an epic poet, Eupolemus a historian.

[d] §§ 4 f.

τὰς λοιδορίας, αἷς κέχρηνταί τινες κατὰ τοῦ γένους
ἡμῶν, ἀποδεῖξαι ψευδεῖς, καὶ τοῖς γεγραφόσι
220 ταύτας καθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν χρήσασθαι μάρτυσιν. ὅτι μὲν
οὖν καὶ ἑτέροις τοῦτο πολλοῖς συμβέβηκε διὰ τὴν
ἐνίων δυσμένειαν, οἶμαι γιγνώσκειν τοὺς πλέον
ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐντυγχάνοντας. καὶ γὰρ ἐθνῶν
τινες καὶ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων πόλεων ῥυπαίνειν τὴν
εὐγένειαν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησαν λοιδορεῖν,
221 Θεόπομπος μὲν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, τὴν δὲ Λακεδαι-
μονίων Πολυκράτης, ὁ δὲ τὸν Τριπολιτικὸν γράψας,
οὐ γὰρ δὴ Θεόπομπός ἐστιν ὡς οἴονταί τινες, καὶ
τὴν Θηβαίων πόλιν προσέδακεν,[1] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
Τίμαιος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις περὶ τῶν προειρημένων
222 καὶ περὶ ἄλλων βεβλασφήμηκεν. μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο
ποιοῦσι τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις προσπλεκόμενοι, τινὲς μὲν
διὰ φθόνον καὶ κακοήθειαν, ἄλλοι δὲ διὰ τοῦ καινο-
λογεῖν[2] μνήμης ἀξιωθήσεσθαι νομίζοντες. παρὰ μὲν
οὖν τοῖς ἀνοήτοις ταύτης οὐ διαμαρτάνουσι τῆς
ἐλπίδος, οἱ δ᾽ ὑγιαίνοντες τῇ κρίσει πολλὴν αὐτῶν
μοχθηρίαν καταδικάζουσι.
223 (25) Τῶν δ᾽ εἰς ἡμᾶς βλασφημιῶν ἤρξαντο μὲν Αἰ-
γύπτιοι· βουλόμενοι δ᾽ ἐκείνοις τινὲς χαρίζεσθαι
παρατρέπειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὔτε τὴν
εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἄφιξιν ὡς ἐγένετο τῶν ἡμετέρων
προγόνων ὁμολογοῦντες, οὔτε τὴν ἔξοδον ἀλη-
224 θεύοντες. αἰτίας δὲ πολλὰς ἔλαβον τοῦ μισεῖν

[1] So, with Naber, I conjecture, from the Lat. *momordit*: προσέλαβεν L.
[2] Dind.: κενολογεῖν L.

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[a] Of Chios, *c.* 378-300, pupil of Isocrates and an acrimonious historian.

expose the fictitious nature of the accusations and aspersions cast by certain persons upon our nation, and to convict the authors of them out of their own mouths. That many others have, through the animosity of individuals, met with the same fate, is a fact of which, I imagine, all habitual readers of history are aware. Various authors have attempted to sully the reputation of nations and of the most illustrious cities, and to revile their forms of government. Theopompus[a] attacked Athens, Polycrates[b] Lacedaemon; the author of the *Tripoliticus*[c] (who was certainly not, as some suppose, Theopompus) included Thebes in his strictures; Timaeus[d] in his histories freely abused these and other states besides. These critics are most virulent in their attacks on persons of the highest celebrity, some out of envy and spite, others in the belief that the novelty of their language will procure them notoriety. In this expectation they find fools who do not disappoint them; by men of sound judgement their depravity is severely condemned.

(III.) Calumnies of the anti-Semites.

Similar calumnies on other nations.

(25) The libels upon us originated with the Egyptians. To gratify them, certain authors undertook to distort the facts; they misrepresented the circumstances of the entry of our ancestors into Egypt, and gave an equally false account of their departure. The Egyptians had many reasons for

The Egyptians the originators of these calumnies. Reasons for their malignity.

[b] His *Laconica* is mentioned by Athenaeus iv. 139 D; doubtfully identified with a fourth-century Athenian sophist.

[c] The "Three states book," also called the "Three-headed book" (Τρικάρανος), a pamphlet attacking Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, put out in the name of Theopompus by his enemy Anaximenes of Lampsacus, who so successfully imitated the style of Theopompus as to bring the latter into universal odium (Pausan. vi. 18. 3).

[d] Nicknamed Ἐπιτίμαιος, "fault-finder"; *cf.* § 16 note.

καὶ φθονεῖν, τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅτι κατὰ τὴν χώραν
αὐτῶν ἐδυνάστευσαν ἡμῶν οἱ προγονοι κἀκεῖθεν
ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν πάλιν εὐδαιμόνησαν.
εἶθ' ἡ τούτων[1] ὑπεναντιότης πολλὴν αὐτοῖς ἐν-
εποίησεν ἔχθραν, τοσοῦτον τῆς ἡμετέρας διαφερού-
σης εὐσεβείας πρὸς τὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνων νενομισμένην,
225 ὅσον θεοῦ φύσις ζῴων ἀλόγων διέστηκε. κοινὸν
μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐστι πάτριον τὸ ταῦτα θεοὺς νομίζειν,
ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς αὐτῶν δια-
φέρονται. κοῦφοι δὲ καὶ ἀνόητοι παντάπασιν ἄν-
θρωποι, κακῶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰθισμένοι δοξάζειν περὶ
θεῶν, μιμήσασθαι μὲν τὴν σεμνότητα τῆς ἡμετέρας
θεολογίας οὐκ ἐχώρησαν, ὁρῶντες δὲ ζηλουμένους
226 ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐφθόνησαν. εἰς τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἦλθον
ἀνοίας καὶ μικροψυχίας ἔνιοι τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὥστ'
οὐδὲ ταῖς ἀρχαίαις αὐτῶν ἀναγραφαῖς ὤκνησαν
ἐναντία λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐναντία γρά-
φοντες ὑπὸ τυφλότητος τοῦ πάθους ἠγνόησαν.

227 (26) Ἐφ' ἑνὸς δὲ πρώτου στήσω τὸν λόγον, ᾧ καὶ
μάρτυρι μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἐχρη-
228 σάμην. ὁ γὰρ Μανέθως οὗτος, ὁ τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν
ἱστορίαν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων μεθερμηνεύειν
ὑπεσχημένος, προειπὼν τοὺς ἡμετέρους προγόνους
πολλαῖς μυριάσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐλθόντας
κρατῆσαι τῶν ἐνοικούντων, εἶτ' αὐτὸς ὁμολογῶν
χρόνῳ πάλιν ὕστερον ἐκπεσόντας τὴν νῦν Ἰου-
δαίαν κατασχεῖν καὶ κτίσαντας Ἱεροσόλυμα τὸν
νεὼν κατασκευάσασθαι, μέχρι μὲν τούτων ἠκολού-

[1] τούτων L Lat.: τῶν ἱερῶν Spanheim.

[a] *i.e.* in the time of the patriarch Joseph. Josephus

their hatred and envy. There was the original grievance of the domination of our ancestors over their country,[a] and their renewed prosperity when they had left it and returned to their own land. Again, the profound contrast between the two cults [b] created bitter animosity, since our religion is as far removed from that which is in vogue among them as is the nature of God from that of irrational beasts. For it is their national custom to regard animals as gods, and this custom is universal, although there are local differences in the honours paid to them.[c] These frivolous and utterly senseless specimens of humanity, accustomed from the first to erroneous ideas about the gods, were incapable of imitating the solemnity of our theology, and the sight of our numerous admirers filled them with envy. Some of them carried their folly and narrow-mindedness so far that they did not hesitate to contradict their ancient chronicles, nay, in the blindness of their passion, they failed to perceive that in what they wrote they actually contradicted themselves.

(26) The first writer, on whom I propose to dwell at some length, is one whose evidence has already served me a little way back [d] to prove our antiquity—I mean Manetho. This author, having promised to translate the history of Egypt from the sacred books, begins by stating that our ancestors entered Egypt in their myriads and subdued the inhabitants, and goes on to admit that they were afterwards driven out of the country, occupied what is now Judaea, founded Jerusalem, and built the temple. So far

(i.) Calumnies of MANETHO

apparently identifies the Hycsos with the ancestors of the Jews (§ 103). [b] Or "nations."

[c] *Cf. e.g.* Juvenal, *Sat.* xv., and *Ap.* ii. 65 below.

[d] § 73.

229 θησε ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς. ἔπειτα δὲ δοὺς ἐξουσίαν αὑτῷ διὰ τοῦ φάναι γράψειν τὰ μυθευόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων λόγους ἀπιθάνους παρενέβαλεν, ἀναμῖξαι βουλόμενος ἡμῖν πλῆθος Αἰγυπτίων λεπρῶν καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλοις ἀρρωστήμασιν, ὥς φησι, φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καταγνωσθέντων.
230 Ἀμένωφιν γὰρ βασιλέα προσθείς, ψευδὲς ὄνομα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρόνον αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ὁρίσαι μὴ τολμήσας, καίτοι γε ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἀκριβῶς τὰ ἔτη προστιθείς, τούτῳ προσάπτει τινὰς μυθολογίας, ἐπιλαθόμενος σχεδὸν ὅτι πεντακοσίοις ἔτεσι καὶ δεκαοκτὼ πρότερον ἱστόρηκε γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν ποιμένων ἔξοδον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.
231 Τέθμωσις γὰρ ἦν βασιλεὺς ὅτε ἐξῄεσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τῶν μεταξὺ[1] βασιλέων κατ᾽ αὐτόν ἐστι τριακόσια ἐνενηκοντατρία ἔτη μέχρι τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν Σέθω καὶ Ἑρμαίου, ὧν τὸν μὲν Σέθων Αἴγυπτον, τὸν δὲ Ἕρμαιον Δαναὸν μετονομασθῆναί φησιν, ὃν ἐκβαλὼν ὁ Σέθως ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη νθʹ καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν υἱῶν
232 αὐτοῦ Ῥάμψης ξϛʹ. τοσούτοις οὖν πρότερον ἔτεσιν ἀπελθεῖν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ὡμολογηκὼς εἶτα τὸν Ἀμένωφιν εἰσποιήσας ἐμβόλιμον

[1] τούτου τῶν μεταξὺ (after Lat.) Niese: τούτων μεταξὺ τῶν L.

[a] *Cf.* "the boil of Egypt" (perhaps elephantiasis), Deut. xxviii. 27.

[b] Lit. "adding."

[c] Josephus's criticism is unreasonable. Manetho clearly distinguished between two expulsions from Egypt: (1) that of the Hycsos who founded Jerusalem (§ 85-90); (2) that of the lepers, etc., under Osarsiph (= Moses) who, with the descendants of the Hycsos, returned and overran the country

he followed the chronicles; but at this point, under the pretext of recording fables and current reports about the Jews, he took the liberty of introducing some incredible tales, wishing to represent us as mixed up with a crowd of Egyptian lepers and others, who for various maladies[a] were condemned, as he asserts, to banishment from the country. Inventing[b] a king named Amenophis, an imaginary person, the date of whose reign he consequently did not venture to fix (although he adds the exact years of the other kings whom he mentions), he attaches to him certain legends, having presumably forgotten that he has already stated that the departure of the shepherds for Jerusalem took place 518 years previously.[c] For it was in the reign of Tethmosis[d] that they left, and, according to Manetho, the succeeding reigns covered a period of 393 years[e] down to the two brothers, Sethos and Hermaeus,[f] the former of whom, he says, took the name of Aegyptus and the latter that of Danaus.[g] Sethos, after expelling Hermaeus, reigned fifty-nine years, and his eldest son Rampses, who succeeded him, sixty-six. Thus after admitting that all those years had elapsed since our forefathers left Egypt, he now interpolates this fictitious Amenophis.

on the exodus from Egypt.

Story of Amenophis and the lepers.

(§ 232-250). The identification of the Amenophis under whom the second expulsion took place is doubtful, but Josephus is not justified in calling him "an imaginary person." Manetho has already mentioned three kings of that name (§ 95-97). Josephus, notwithstanding his criticism, clearly, by his calculation of an interval of 518 years (=393+59+66, § 231 f.), identified him with a later Amenophis IV. This, according to most commentators, was also the identification of Manetho. Reinach, however, gives reasons to show that Manetho identified him with Amenophis III (§ 97).

[d] § 94; =Thoummosis, § 88.
[e] *Cf.* § 103.
[f] Called Harmais §§ 98 ff.
[g] § 102.

βασιλέα φησὶ τοῦτον ἐπιθυμῆσαι θεῶν γενέσθαι
θεατήν, ὥσπερ Ὧρ εἷς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βεβασιλευ-
κότων, ἀνενεγκεῖν δὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ὁμωνύμῳ
μὲν αὐτῷ Ἀμενώφει, πατρὸς δὲ Παάπιος[1] ὄντι,
θείας δὲ δοκοῦντι μετεσχηκέναι φύσεως κατά τε
233 σοφίαν καὶ πρόγνωσιν τῶν ἐσομένων. εἰπεῖν οὖν
αὐτῷ τοῦτον τὸν ὁμώνυμον ὅτι δυνήσεται θεοὺς
ἰδεῖν, εἰ καθαρὰν ἀπό τε λεπρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
μιαρῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν ποιήσειεν.
234 ἡσθέντα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα πάντας τοὺς τὰ σώματα
λελωβημένους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου συναγαγεῖν· γενέ-
235 σθαι δὲ τὸ πλῆθος[2] μυριάδας ὀκτώ· καὶ τούτους εἰς
τὰς λιθοτομίας τὰς ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μέρει
τοῦ Νείλου ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτόν, ὅπως ἐργάζοιντο καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων εἶεν κεχωρισμένοι.[3] εἶναι δέ
τινας ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν λογίων ἱερέων φησὶ λέπρᾳ
236 συνεχομένους.[4] τὸν δὲ Ἀμένωφιν ἐκεῖνον, τὸν
σοφὸν καὶ μαντικὸν ἄνδρα, ὑποδεῖσαι[5] πρὸς αὐτόν
τε καὶ τὸν βασιλέα χόλον τῶν θεῶν, εἰ βιασθέντες
ὀφθήσονται· καὶ προσθέμενον εἰπεῖν ὅτι συμμαχή-
σουσί τινες τοῖς μιαροῖς καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρα-
τήσουσιν ἐπ᾽ ἔτη δεκατρία, μὴ τολμῆσαι μὲν
αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ, γραφὴν δὲ κατα-
λιπόντα περὶ πάντων ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν, ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ
237 δὲ εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα. κἄπειτα κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως
γέγραφεν· "τῶν δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς λατομίαις ὡς χρόνος

[1] *ed. pr.* (*cf.* § 243): Πάπιος L.
[2] Niese (after Lat.): τοῦ πλήθους L.
[3] εἶεν κεχ. (with Holwerda): οἱ ἐγκεχωρισμένοι L.
[4] Dindorf: συγκεχυμένους L.
[5] Dind.: ὑποδεῖσθαι L.

[a] Orus, ninth king of the XVIIIth Dynasty (§ 96);

This king, he states, wishing to be granted, like Or,[a] one of his predecessors on the throne, a vision of the gods, communicated his desire to his namesake, Amenophis, son of Paapis,[b] whose wisdom and knowledge of the future were regarded as marks of divinity. This namesake replied that he would be able to see the gods if he purged the entire country of lepers and other polluted persons. Delighted at hearing this, the king collected all the maimed people in Egypt, numbering 80,000, and sent them to work in the stone-quarries [c] on the east of the Nile, segregated from the rest of the Egyptians. They included, he adds, some of the learned priests, who were afflicted with leprosy. Then this wise seer Amenophis was seized with a fear that he would draw down the wrath of the gods on himself and the king if the violence done to these men were detected; and he added a prediction that the polluted people would find certain allies who would become masters of Egypt for thirteen years. He did not venture to tell this himself to the king, but left a complete statement in writing, and then put an end to himself. The king was greatly disheartened.

Then Manetho proceeds (I quote his actual words):

"When the men in the stone-quarries had con-

probably confused with the god Horus. Herodotus (ii. 42) tells a similar story of Heracles in Egypt desiring a vision of the Theban Zeus (Amun).

[b] Apparently a historical person, viz. Amenothes (or Amenophis), son of Hapi, minister of Amenophis III, whose statue with an inscription was discovered by Mariette (Maspero, *Hist. ancienne*, 1897, ii. 299, 448; quoted by Reinach).

[c] *Cf.* Herod. ii. 8.

ἱκανὸς διῆλθεν ταλαιπωρούντων, ἀξιωθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἵνα πρὸς κατάλυσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ σκέπην ἀπομερίσῃ τὴν τότε τῶν ποιμένων ἐρημωθεῖσαν πόλιν Αὔαριν συνεχώρησεν· ἔστι δ' ἡ πόλις κατὰ τὴν
238 *θεολογίαν ἄνωθεν Τυφώνιος. οἱ δὲ εἰς ταύτην εἰσελθόντες καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον εἰς ἀπόστασιν ἔχοντες, ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν λεγόμενόν τινα τῶν Ἡλιοπολιτῶν ἱερέων Ὀσάρσιφον ἐστήσαντο καὶ τούτῳ πειθαρχήσοντες*[1] *ἐν πᾶσιν ὡρκωμότησαν.*
239 *ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς νόμον ἔθετο μήτε προσκυνεῖν θεοὺς μήτε τῶν μάλιστα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θεμιστευομένων ἱερῶν ζῴων ἀπέχεσθαι μηδενός, πάντα δὲ θύειν καὶ ἀναλοῦν, συνάπτεσθαι δὲ*
240 *μηδενὶ πλὴν τῶν συνωμοσμένων. τοιαῦτα δὲ νομοθετήσας καὶ πλεῖστα ἄλλα μάλιστα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐθισμοῖς ἐναντιούμενα ἐκέλευσεν πολυχειρίᾳ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκευάζειν τείχη καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ἑτοίμους γίνεσθαι τὸν πρὸς Ἀμένωφιν τὸν*
241 *βασιλέα. αὐτὸς δὲ προσλαβόμενος μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων καὶ συμμεμιαμμένων ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὸ Τεθμώσεως ἀπελασθέντας ποιμένας εἰς πόλιν τὴν καλουμένην Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς συνατιμασθέντας δηλώσας ἠξίου συνεπιστρατεύειν ὁμο-*
242 *θυμαδὸν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. ἐπάξειν*[2] *μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐπηγγείλατο πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Αὔαριν τὴν προγονικὴν αὐτῶν πατρίδα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς ὄχλοις παρέξειν ἀφθόνως, ὑπερμαχήσεσθαι δὲ ὅτε δέοι καὶ ῥᾳδίως ὑποχείριον αὐτοῖς τὴν χώραν ποιήσειν.*

[1] *ed. pr.*: -ήσαντες L.
[2] ἐπανάξειν Cobet.

tinued long in misery, the king acceded to their request to assign them for habitation and protection the abandoned city of the shepherds, called Auaris, and according to an ancient theological tradition dedicated to Typhon.[a] Thither they went, and, having now a place to serve as a base for revolt, they appointed as their leader one of the priests of Heliopolis called Osarsiph,[b] and swore to obey all his orders. By his first law he ordained that they should not worship the gods nor abstain from the flesh of any of the animals held in special reverence in Egypt, but should kill and consume them all, and that they should have no connexion with any save members of their own confederacy. After laying down these and a multitude of other laws, absolutely opposed to Egyptian custom, he ordered all hands to repair the city walls and make ready for war with King Amenophis. Then, in concert with other priests and polluted persons like himself, he sent an embassy to the shepherds, who had been expelled by Tethmosis, in the city called Jerusalem, setting out the position of himself and his outraged companions, and inviting them to join in a united expedition against Egypt. He undertook to escort them first to their ancestral home at Auaris, to provide abundant supplies for their multitudes, to fight for them when the moment came, and without difficulty to reduce the country to submission. The shepherds, delighted

[a] *Cf.* §§ 78, 86.

[b] Although Osarsiph plays the part of, and is identified with, Moses (§ 250), the name, as Reinach suggests, looks like a transformation of Joseph, the Egyptian Osiris being substituted for the first syllable, incorrectly regarded as derived from the Hebrew Jah.

243 οἱ δὲ ὑπερχαρεῖς γενόμενοι πάντες προθύμως
εἰς κʹ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν συνεξώρμησαν καὶ μετ᾽
οὐ πολὺ ἧκον εἰς Αὔαριν. Ἀμένωφις δ᾽ ὁ τῶν
Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ὡς ἐπύθετο τὰ κατὰ τὴν
ἐκείνων ἔφοδον, οὐ μετρίως συνεχύθη τῆς παρὰ
Ἀμενώφεως τοῦ Παάπιος μνησθεὶς προδηλώσεως.
244 καὶ πρότερον συναγαγὼν πλῆθος Αἰγυπτίων καὶ
βουλευσάμενος μετὰ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἡγεμόνων τά
τε ἱερὰ ζῷα τὰ [πρῶτα][1] μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς
τιμώμενα ὡς ἑαυτὸν[2] μετεπέμψατο καὶ τοῖς κατὰ
μέρος ἱερεῦσι παρήγγελλεν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα τῶν
245 θεῶν συγκρύψαι τὰ ξόανα. τὸν δὲ υἱὸν Σέθων,
τὸν καὶ Ῥαμέσσην ἀπὸ Ῥαψηοῦς τοῦ πατρὸς
ὠνομασμένον, πενταέτη ὄντα ἐξέθετο πρὸς τὸν
ἑαυτοῦ φίλον. αὐτὸς δὲ διαβὰς <σὺν> τοῖς
ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις, οὖσιν εἰς τριάκοντα μυριάδας
ἀνδρῶν μαχιμωτάτων, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπ-
246 αντήσας[3] οὐ συνέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ μέλλειν[4] θεομαχεῖν
νομίσας παλινδρομήσας ἧκεν εἰς Μέμφιν, ἀναλαβών
τε τόν τε Ἆπιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐκεῖσε μεταπεμ-
φθέντα ἱερὰ ζῷα εὐθὺς εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν σὺν ἅπαντι τῷ
στόλῳ καὶ πλήθει τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνήχθη· χάριτι
γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ὑποχείριος ὁ τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλεύς.
247 ὃς[5] ὑποδεξάμενος καὶ τοὺς ὄχλους πάντας ὑπολαβὼν
οἷς ἔσχεν ἡ χώρα τῶν πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην τροφὴν
ἐπιτηδείων, καὶ πόλεις καὶ κώμας πρὸς τὴν τῶν
πεπρωμένων τρισκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς
αὐτοῦ[6] ἔκπτωσιν αὐτάρκεις, οὐχ ἧττον δὲ καὶ

[1] Om. Lat. [2] Niese: ὥς γε αὐτὸν L.
[3] Niese (after Lat.): ἀπαντήσασιν L.
[4] μὴ δεῖν (*cf.* § 263) Herwerden.
[5] Niese (after Lat.): ὅθεν L.
[6] + εἰς τὴν L; a verb such as παρέσχεν is desiderated.

with the idea, all eagerly set off in a body numbering 200,000 men, and soon reached Auaris

"The news of their invasion sorely perturbed Amenophis, king of Egypt, who recalled the prediction of Amenophis, son of Paapis. He began by assembling the Egyptians, and, after deliberation with their chiefs, sent for the sacred animals which were held in most reverence in the temples, and instructed the priests in each district to conceal the images of the gods as securely as possible. His five-year-old son Sethos, also called Ramesses after his grandfather Ra(m)pses,[a] he entrusted to the care of a[b] friend. He then crossed [the Nile, with] 300,000 of the most efficient warriors of Egypt and met the enemy. Instead, however, of engaging them, he, under the belief that he was about to fight against the gods, turned back and repaired to Memphis. There he picked up Apis and the other sacred animals which he had ordered to be brought thither, and at once, with all his army and the Egyptian population, started up country for Ethiopia, whose king was under obligation to him and at his service. The latter made him welcome and maintained the whole multitude with all the products of the country suitable for human consumption, assigned them cities and villages sufficient for the destined period of thirteen years' banishment from the realm, and moreover[c]

[a] The genealogy here given supports Reinach's opinion that the King Amenophis of this story (according to Josephus an imaginary person, § 230) = Amenophis III (*cf.* § 97).

[b] Literally, "his"; (?) the king of Ethiopia named later.

[c] Or "above all."

στρατόπεδον Αἰθιοπικὸν πρὸς φυλακὴν ἐπέταξε
τοῖς παρ' Ἀμενώφεως τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῶν
248 ὁρίων τῆς Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Αἰθιο-
πίαν τοιαῦτα· οἱ δὲ Σολυμῖται κατελθόντες σὺν
τοῖς μιαροῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτως ἀνοσίως[1] τοῖς
ἀνθρώποις προσηνέχθησαν, ὥστε τὴν τῶν προειρη-
μένων κράτησιν χρυσὸν φαίνεσθαι τοῖς τότε τὰ
249 τούτων ἀσεβήματα θεωμένοις· καὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον
πόλεις καὶ κώμας ἐνέπρησαν, οὐδὲ ἱεροσυλοῦντες
οὐδὲ λυμαινόμενοι ξόανα θεῶν ἠρκοῦντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τοῖς ἀδύτοις[2] ὀπτανίοις τῶν σεβαστευομένων ἱερῶν
ζῴων χρώμενοι διετέλουν, καὶ θύτας καὶ σφαγεῖς
τούτων ἱερεῖς καὶ προφήτας ἠνάγκαζον γίνεσθαι
250 καὶ γυμνοὺς ἐξέβαλλον. λέγεται δὲ ὅτι <ὁ> τὴν
πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καταβαλόμενος
ἱερεὺς τὸ γένος Ἡλιοπολίτης ὄνομα Ὀσαρσὶφ
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει θεοῦ Ὀσίρεως, ὡς μετ-
έβη εἰς τοῦτο τὸ γένος, μετετέθη τοὔνομα καὶ
προσηγορεύθη Μωυσῆς."

251 (27) "Ἃ μὲν οὖν Αἰγύπτιοι φέρουσι περὶ τῶν Ἰου-
δαίων ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα, ἃ παρίημι
συντομίας ἕνεκα. λέγει δὲ ὁ Μανέθως πάλιν ὅτι
μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπῆλθεν ὁ Ἀμένωφις ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας
μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ῥάμψης,
καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων δύναμιν, καὶ συμβαλόντες οἱ δύο
τοῖς ποιμέσι καὶ τοῖς μιαροῖς ἐνίκησαν αὐτοὺς καὶ
πολλοὺς ἀποκτείναντες ἐδίωξαν αὐτοὺς ἄχρι τῶν
252 ὁρίων τῆς Συρίας. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα
Μανέθως συνέγραψεν· ὅτι δὲ ληρεῖ καὶ ψεύδεται

[1] + καὶ L. [2] Bekker: αὐτοῖς L.

stationed an Ethiopian army on the Egyptian frontier to protect King Amenophis and his subjects.

"Such was the condition of affairs in Ethiopia. Meanwhile the Solymites [a] came down [b] with the polluted Egyptians, and treated the inhabitants in so sacrilegious a manner that the regime of the shepherds seemed like a golden age [c] to those who now beheld the impieties of their present enemies. Not only did they set cities and villages on fire, not only did they pillage the temples and mutilate the images of the gods, but, not content with that, they habitually used the very sanctuaries as kitchens for roasting the venerated sacred animals, and forced the priests and prophets to slaughter them and cut their throats, and then turned them out naked. It is said that the priest who gave them a constitution and code of laws was a native of Heliopolis, named Osarsiph [d] after the Heliopolitan god Osiris, and that when he went over to this people he changed his name and was called Moses."

(27) Such and much more, which, for brevity's sake, I omit, is Egyptian gossip about the Jews. Manetho adds that Amenophis subsequently advanced from Ethiopia with a large army, his son Rampses at the head of another, and that the two attacked and defeated the shepherds and their polluted allies, killing many of them and pursuing the remainder to the frontiers of Syria. That, with more of a similar kind, is Manetho's account. Before

[a] *i.e.* the inhabitants of Hierosolyma (§ 241); *cf.* §§ 173 f. with note.
[b] Or "back." [c] Literally, "gold." [d] *Cf.* § 238.

περιφανῶς ἐπιδείξω, προδιαστειλάμενος ἐκεῖνο τῶν ὕστερον πρὸς ἄλλους[1] λεχθησομένων ἕνεκα. δέδωκε γὰρ οὗτος ἡμῖν καὶ ὡμολόγηκεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ[2] μὴ εἶναι τὸ γένος Αἰγυπτίους, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν ἐπελθόντας κρατῆσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ πάλιν ἐξ
253 αὐτῆς ἀπελθεῖν. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἀνεμίχθησαν ἡμῖν ὕστερον τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ τὰ σώματα λελωβημένοι, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἦν Μωυσῆς ὁ τὸν λαὸν ἀγαγών, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς ἐγεγόνει γενεαῖς πρότερον, ταῦτα πειράσομαι διὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένων ἐλέγχειν.

254 (28) Πρώτην δὴ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πλάσματος ὑποτίθεται καταγέλαστον. ὁ βασιλεὺς γάρ, φησιν, Ἀμένωφις ἐπεθύμησε τοὺς θεοὺς ἰδεῖν. ποίους; εἰ μὲν τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς νενομοθετημένους, τὸν βοῦν καὶ τράγον καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ κυνοκεφά-
255 λους, ἑώρα. τοὺς οὐρανίους δὲ πῶς ἐδύνατο; καὶ διὰ τί ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν; ὅτι νὴ Δία καὶ πρότερος αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἄλλος ἑωράκει. παρ' ἐκείνου τοίνυν ἐπέπυστο ποταποί τινές εἰσι καὶ τίνα τρόπον αὐτοὺς εἶδεν, ὥστε καινῆς αὐτῷ
256 τέχνης οὐκ ἔδει. ἀλλὰ σοφὸς ἦν ὁ μάντις δι' οὗ τοῦτο κατορθώσειν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπελάμβανε. καὶ πῶς οὐ προέγνω τὸ ἀδύνατον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας; οὐ γὰρ ἀπέβη. τίνα δὲ καὶ λόγον εἶχε διὰ τοὺς ἠκρωτηριασμένους ἢ λεπρῶντας ἀφανεῖς εἶναι τοὺς θεούς; ὀργίζονται γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀσεβήμασιν,
257 οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλαττώμασι τῶν σωμάτων. ὀκτὼ

[1] Niese: ἀλλήλους L. [2] Niese: τε L.

[a] Literally, "(yes,) by Zeus." This common Greek phrase,

proceeding to show the manifest absurdity and untruthfulness of his statements, I will make one preliminary observation, which bears on the replies to be made later on to other authors. Manetho has granted us one fact. He has admitted that our race was not of Egyptian origin, but came into Egypt from elsewhere, conquered it, and afterwards left it. The further facts that we were not, in the sequel, mixed up with Egyptian cripples, and that Moses, the leader of our people, so far from being one of them, lived many generations earlier, I shall now endeavour to prove from Manetho's own statements.

Criticism of Manetho's story. Its various absurdities.

(28) At the outset, the very hypothesis of his fictitious story is ridiculous. King Amenophis, he says, desired to see the gods. What gods? If those established by their law are intended—bull, goat, crocodiles, and dog-faced baboons—he saw them already. Or the celestial gods—how could he have seen them? And why had he this passionate desire? Because, forsooth,[a] another king[b] before him had seen them. He had[c] therefore learnt from his predecessor what they were like and how he saw them; consequently no new method of procedure was required. Again, the seer, by whose help the king hoped to achieve his end, was a sage. How was it then that he failed to foresee the impossibility of attaining it? For it was not realized. And what ground was there for attributing the invisibility of the gods to the presence of mutilated persons or lepers? Impiety excites their wrath, not physical deformities. Then, how could 80,000 lepers and

which sounds strange in a Jewish work, recurs (according to the restored text) in *Ap.* ii. 263. [b] Or (§ 232).

[c] Possibly we should insert ἄν, "would therefore have learnt."

δὲ μυριάδας τῶν λεπρῶν καὶ κακῶς διακειμένων
πῶς οἷόν τε μιᾷ σχεδὸν ἡμέρᾳ συλλεγῆναι; πῶς
δὲ παρήκουσεν τοῦ μάντεως ὁ βασιλεύς; ὁ μὲν
γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξορίσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοὺς
λελωβημένους, ὁ δ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς λιθοτομίας
ἐνέβαλεν, ὥσπερ τῶν ἐργασομένων δεόμενος, ἀλλ'
258 οὐχὶ καθᾶραι τὴν χώραν προαιρούμενος. φησὶ
δὲ τὸν μὲν μάντιν αὑτὸν ἀνελεῖν τὴν ὀργὴν τῶν
θεῶν προορώμενον καὶ τὰ συμβησόμενα περὶ τὴν
Αἴγυπτον, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ γεγραμμένην τὴν πρόρ-
259 ρησιν[1] καταλιπεῖν. εἶτα πῶς οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ
μάντις τὸν αὑτοῦ θάνατον προηπίστατο; πῶς δὲ
οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀντεῖπεν τῷ βασιλεῖ βουλομένῳ τοὺς
θεοὺς ἰδεῖν; πῶς δ' εὔλογος ὁ φόβος τῶν μὴ παρ'
αὐτὸν συμβησομένων κακῶν; ἢ τί χεῖρον ἔδει
παθεῖν οὗ δρᾶν[2] ἑαυτὸν ἔσπευδεν;
260 Τὸ δὲ δὴ πάντων εὐηθέστατον ἴδωμεν. πυθό-
μενος γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων φοβηθεὶς
τοὺς λελωβημένους ἐκείνους, ὧν αὐτῷ καθαρεῦσαι
προείρητο τὴν Αἴγυπτον, οὐδὲ τότε τῆς χώρας
ἐξήλασεν, ἀλλὰ δεηθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε πόλιν, ὥς
φησι, τὴν πάλαι μὲν οἰκηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν ποιμένων,
261 Αὔαριν δὲ καλουμένην. εἰς ἣν ἀθροισθέντας αὐτοὺς
ἡγεμόνα φησὶν ἐξελέσθαι τῶν ἐξ Ἡλιουπόλεως
πάλαι γεγονότων ἱερέων, καὶ τοῦτον αὐτοῖς εἰσ-
ηγήσασθαι μήτε θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν μήτε τῶν ἐν[3]
Αἰγύπτῳ θρησκευομένων ζῴων ἀπέχεσθαι, πάντα
δὲ θύειν καὶ κατεσθίειν, συνάπτεσθαι δὲ μηδενὶ
πλὴν τῶν συνωμοσμένων, ὅρκοις τε τὸ πλῆθος
ἐνδησάμενον, ἦ μὴν τούτοις ἐμμενεῖν τοῖς νόμοις,

[1] *ed. pr.*: πρόσρησιν L.
[2] οὗ δρᾶν Herwerden: οὐδ' ἂν L. [3] Niese: ἐπ' L.

invalids be collected in practically a single day[a]? And why did the king neglect the seer's advice? The latter had bidden him banish the cripples from Egypt, whereas the king put them into the quarries, like one in need of labourers, rather than one who was determined to purge his country. Manetho further states that the seer killed himself, because he foresaw the anger of the gods and the fate in store for Egypt, leaving to the king his prediction in writing. Then how was it that the seer did not divine his own death from the first? Why did he not at once oppose the king's desire to see the gods? Was it reasonable to fear misfortunes that were not to happen in his lifetime? Or what worse fate could have befallen him than the suicide he was in such a hurry to commit?

But let us consider the most ludicrous item in the whole story. Notwithstanding the warning he had received and his dread of the future, the king even then did not expel from the country the cripples, of whose presence he had been already told to purge Egypt, but instead gave them at their request a city called Auaris, once (according to Manetho) the residence of the shepherds. Here, he continues, they assembled, and chose for their leader one who had formerly been a priest of Heliopolis; and by him were instructed not to worship the gods nor to abstain from the flesh of the animals reverenced in Egypt, but to kill and devour them all, and to have no connexion with any save members of their own confederacy. Then, after binding his followers by oath faithfully to abide by these laws, he fortified

[a] This is not mentioned in § 234.

καὶ τειχίσαντα τὴν Αὔαριν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα
262 πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν. καὶ προστίθησιν ὅτι ἔπεμψεν
εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρακαλῶν ἐκείνους αὐτοῖς συμ-
μαχεῖν καὶ δώσειν αὐτοῖς τὴν Αὔαριν ὑπισχνού-
μενος, εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων
ἀφιξομένοις προγονικήν, ἀφ᾽ ἧς ὁρμωμένους αὐτοὺς
263 πᾶσαν τὴν Αἴγυπτον καθέξειν. εἶτα τοὺς μὲν
ἐπελθεῖν εἴκοσι στρατοῦ μυριάσι λέγει, τὸν βασιλέα
δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ἀμένωφιν οὐκ οἰόμενον δεῖν
θεομαχεῖν εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν εὐθὺς ἀποδρᾶναι, τὸν
δὲ Ἆπιν καί τινα τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν ζῴων παρα-
τεθεικέναι τοῖς ἱερεῦσι διαφυλάττεσθαι κελεύσαντα.
264 εἶτα τοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας ἐπελθόντας τάς τε πόλεις
ἀνιστάναι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ κατακαίειν καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας[1]
ἀποσφάττειν, ὅλως τε μηδεμιᾶς ἀπέχεσθαι παρα-
265 νομίας μηδὲ ὠμότητος. ὁ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ
τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῖς καταβαλόμενος[2] ἱερεύς, φησίν,
ἦν τὸ γένος Ἡλιοπολίτης, ὄνομα δ᾽ Ὀσαρσὶφ
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει θεοῦ Ὀσίρεως, μεταθέμενος
266 δὲ Μωυσῆν αὐτὸν προσηγόρευσε. τρισκαιδεκάτῳ
δέ φησιν ἔτει τὸν Ἀμένωφιν, τοσοῦτον γὰρ αὐτῷ
χρόνον εἶναι τῆς ἐκπτώσεως πεπρωμένον, ἐξ
Αἰθιοπίας ἐπελθόντα μετὰ πολλῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ
συμβαλόντα τοῖς ποιμέσι καὶ τοῖς μιαροῖς νικῆσαί
τε τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κτεῖναι πολλοὺς ἐπιδιώξαντα
μέχρι τῶν τῆς Συρίας ὅρων.
267 (29) Ἐν τούτοις πάλιν οὐ συνίησιν ἀπιθάνως ψευ-
δόμενος. οἱ γὰρ λεπροὶ καὶ τὸ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν πλῆθος,
εἰ καὶ πρότερον ὠργίζοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς
τὰ περὶ αὐτοὺς πεποιηκόσι κατὰ [τε][3] τὴν τοῦ
μάντεως προαγόρευσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε τῶν λιθοτομιῶν

[1] Bekker: ἱππέας L Lat.

Auaris and declared war on the king. He also, adds Manetho, sent an invitation to the inhabitants of Jerusalem to make an alliance with him, promising them the city of Auaris, as the ancestral home of any recruits from Jerusalem, and as a base from which to become masters of the whole of Egypt. Thereupon, he proceeds, they brought up an army of 200,000 men, and Amenophis, king of Egypt, thinking it wrong to fight against the gods, fled forthwith to Ethiopia, after entrusting Apis and some of the other sacred animals to the custody of the priests. The Jerusalemites then overran the country, destroyed the cities, burnt down the temples, massacred the priests, and in short indulged in every kind of crime and brutality. The priest who gave them a constitution and a code was, according to Manetho, a native of Heliopolis, named Osarsiph after the Heliopolitan god Osiris, but changed his name to Moses. Thirteen years later—that being the destined period of his exile—Amenophis, says our author, advanced from Ethiopia with a large army, attacked and defeated the shepherds and their polluted allies, and pursued them, with great slaughter, to the Syrian frontier.

(29) Here again the author is unconscious of the improbability of his fictitious tale. However indignant the lepers and their horde may formerly have been with the king and the others who had, under the seer's directions, so ill-treated them, yet surely on emerging from the stone-quarries and being pre-

[2] *ed. pr.*: καταβαλλόμενος L. [3] Om. Lat.

ἐξῆλθον καὶ πόλιν παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ χώραν ἔλαβον, πάντως[1] ἂν γεγόνεισαν πρᾳότεροι πρὸς αὐτόν.
268 εἰ δὲ δὴ[2] κἀκεῖνον ἐμίσουν, ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἂν αὐτῷ[3] ἐπεβούλευον, οὐκ ἂν δὲ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἤραντο πόλεμον, δῆλον ὅτι πλείστας ἔχοντες συγγενείας
269 τοσοῦτοί γε τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες. ὅμως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πολεμεῖν διεγνωκότες οὐκ ἂν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν θεοὺς πολεμεῖν ἐτόλμησαν οὐδ' ὑπεναντιωτάτους ἔθεντο νόμους τοῖς πατρίοις αὐτῶν καὶ
270 οἷς ἐνετράφησαν. δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς τῷ Μανέθῳ[4] χάριν ἔχειν, ὅτι ταύτης τῆς παρανομίας οὐχὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐλθόντας ἀρχηγοὺς γενέσθαι φησίν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὄντας Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τούτων μάλιστα τοὺς ἱερέας ἐπινοῆσαί τε ταῦτα καὶ ὁρκωμοτῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος.

271 Ἐκεῖνο μέντοι πῶς οὐκ ἄλογον, τῶν μὲν οἰκείων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν φίλων συναποστῆναι[5] οὐδένα μηδὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὸν κίνδυνον συνάρασθαι, πέμψαι δὲ τοὺς μιαροὺς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνων
272 ἐπάγεσθαι συμμαχίαν; ποίας αὐτοῖς φιλίας ἢ τίνος αὐτοῖς οἰκειότητος προϋπηργμένης; τοὐναντίον γὰρ ἦσαν πολέμιοι καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι[6] πλεῖστον διέφερον. ὁ δέ φησιν εὐθὺς ὑπακοῦσαι τοῖς ὑπισχνουμένοις ὅτι τὴν Αἴγυπτον καθέξουσιν, ὥσπερ αὐτῶν οὐ σφόδρα τῆς χώρας ἐμπείρως ἐχόντων,
273 ἧς βιασθέντες ἐκπεπτώκασιν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀπόρως ἢ κακῶς ἔπραττον, ἴσως ἂν καὶ παρεβάλλοντο, πόλιν δὲ κατοικοῦντες εὐδαίμονα καὶ χώραν

[1] *ed. pr.*: πάντες L Lat. [2] εἰ δ' ἔτι Lat. (apparently).
[3] ἂν αὐτῷ *ed. pr.*: ἄνω L. [4] Μανεθῶνι L.
[5] Bekker: συναποστῆσαι L.
[6] Hudson (Lat. *moribus*): ἤθεσι L.

sented by him with a city and land, their feelings towards him would have been mollified. Even supposing their hatred of him still persisted, they would have conspired against him alone, and not have declared war on the whole nation, which must obviously have included very many relations of their numerous body. Granted that they decided on war with the Egyptians, they would never have ventured to make war on their gods, nor would they have framed laws directly opposed to the national code under which they had been brought up. However, we must be grateful to Manetho for stating that this violation of the laws originated, not with the immigrants from Jerusalem, but with the Egyptians themselves, and that it was their priests in particular who conceived the idea and administered the oath to the people.

Again, how absurd to suppose that, while none of their own relations and friends joined in the revolt and shared the perils of war, these pariahs sent to Jerusalem and obtained recruits from that quarter! What alliance, what connexion existed previously between them? On the contrary, these people were enemies, and their customs utterly opposed to their own. Yet, says Manetho, they lent a ready ear to the promise that they should occupy Egypt, as if they were not intimately acquainted with the country from which they had been forcibly expelled! Had they been in straitened circumstances or unfortunate, they might, conceivably, have undertaken the risk; but inhabiting, as they did, an opulent city and enjoying the fruits of an extensive country, superior

πολλὴν κρείττω τῆς Αἰγύπτου καρπούμενοι, διὰ τί ποτ᾽ ἂν ἐχθροῖς μὲν πάλαι τὰ δὲ σώματα λελωβημένοις, οὓς μηδὲ τῶν οἰκείων οὐδεὶς ὑπέμενε, τούτοις ἔμελλον παρακινδυνεύσειν βοηθοῦντες; οὐ γὰρ δή γε τὸν γενησόμενον προῄδεσαν δρασμὸν
274 τοῦ βασιλέως· τοὐναντίον γὰρ αὐτὸς εἴρηκεν ὡς ὁ παῖς τοῦ Ἀμενώφιος τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἔχων εἰς τὸ Πηλούσιον ὑπηντίαζεν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ᾔδεισαν πάντως οἱ παραγινόμενοι, τὴν δὲ μετάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φυγὴν πόθεν εἰκάζειν ἔμελλον;
275 ἔπειτα[1] κρατήσαντάς φησι τῆς Αἰγύπτου πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ δρᾶν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπιστρατεύσαντας, καὶ περὶ τούτων ὀνειδίζει καθάπερ οὐ πολεμίους αὐτοῖς ἐπαγαγὼν ἢ δέον τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐπικληθεῖσιν ἐγκαλεῖν, ὁπότε ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀφίξεως ἔπραττον καὶ πράξειν ὠμωμό-
276 κεσαν οἱ τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιοι. ἀλλὰ καὶ χρόνοις ὕστερον Ἀμένωφις ἐπελθὼν ἐνίκησε μάχῃ καὶ κτείνων τοὺς πολεμίους μέχρι τῆς Συρίας ἤλασεν. οὕτω γὰρ παντάπασίν ἐστιν ἡ Αἴγυπτος τοῖς
277 ὁποθενδηποτοῦν ἐπιοῦσιν εὐάλωτος. καί<τοι>[2] οἱ τότε πολέμῳ κρατοῦντες αὐτήν, ζῆν πυνθανόμενοι τὸν Ἀμένωφιν, οὔτε τὰς ἐκ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἐμβολὰς ὠχύρωσαν, πολλὴν εἰς τοῦτο παρασκευὴν ἔχοντες, οὔτε τὴν ἄλλην ἡτοίμασαν δύναμιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῆς Συρίας ἀναιρῶν, φησίν, αὐτοὺς ἠκολούθησε διὰ τῆς ψάμμου τῆς ἀνύδρου, δῆλον ὅτι οὐ ῥᾴδιον οὐδὲ ἀμαχεὶ στρατοπέδῳ διελθεῖν.

[1] ἔπειτα (after Lat.) Hudson: τὰ σιτία L.
[2] καίτοι conj.: καὶ L.

to Egypt, what inducement could there be to hazard their lives in support of their former foes, those maimed cripples, whom not one even of their own people would tolerate? For of course they did not foresee that the king would take flight. On the contrary, the author himself has told us that the son of Amenophis [a] marched to Pelusium to meet them at the head of 300,000 men. Of his approach the advancing enemy would undoubtedly be aware; how could they possibly conjecture that he would change his mind and flee? After conquering Egypt, our author proceeds, the Jerusalem invaders committed many horrible crimes; and for these he reproaches them, as though he had not brought them on to the scene as enemies, or as if actions when performed by imported foreigners deserved reprobation, which before their arrival were being performed by the native Egyptians, who had sworn to continue the practice. In the sequel, however, Amenophis returned to the charge, won a battle, and drove the enemy back, with slaughter, to Syria. So easy a prey, it appears, is Egypt to invaders from whatever quarter! And yet its former conquerors, though aware that Amenophis was alive, neither fortified the passes between it and Ethiopia, notwithstanding their ample resources for the purpose, nor had the rest of their army in readiness! Amenophis, says our author, pursued them to Syria, killing them all the way, across the sandy desert. But the difficulty of marching an army across the desert, even without a battle, is notorious.

[a] Rather, Amenophis himself, the son being only five years old (§ 245); probably written *per incuriam*. Reinach reads "he," regarding "of Amenophis" as a misplaced gloss on "the king" in the previous line.

278 (30) Κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸν Μανέθων οὔτε ἐκ τῆς Αἰ-
γύπτου τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἐστιν οὔτε τῶν ἐκεῖθέν
τινες ἀνεμίχθησαν· τῶν γὰρ λεπρῶν καὶ νοσούντων
πολλοὺς μὲν εἰκὸς ἐν ταῖς λιθοτομίαις ἀποθανεῖν
πολὺν χρόνον ἐκεῖ γενομένους καὶ κακοπαθοῦντας,
πολλοὺς δ' ἐν ταῖς μετὰ ταῦτα μάχαις, πλείστους
δ' ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ καὶ τῇ φυγῇ.

279 (31) Λοιπόν μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν περὶ Μωυσέως.
τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμαστὸν μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι
καὶ θεῖον νομίζουσι, βούλονται δὲ προσποιεῖν
αὑτοῖς μετὰ βλασφημίας ἀπιθάνου, λέγοντες Ἡλιο-
πολίτην εἶναι τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἱερέων ἕνα διὰ τὴν
280 λέπραν συνεξεληλασμένον. δείκνυται δ' ἐν ταῖς
ἀναγραφαῖς ὀκτωκαίδεκα σὺν τοῖς πεντακοσίοις
πρότερον ἔτεσι γεγονὼς καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους
ἐξαγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πατέρας εἰς τὴν
281 χώραν τὴν νῦν οἰκουμένην ὑφ' ἡμῶν. ὅτι δ' οὐδὲ
συμφορᾷ τινι τοιαύτῃ περὶ τὸ σῶμα κεχρημένος
ἦν, ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δῆλός ἐστι. τοῖς
γὰρ λεπρῶσιν ἀπείρηκε μήτε μένειν ἐν πόλει μήτ'
ἐν κώμῃ κατοικεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνους περιπατεῖν κατ-
εσχισμένους τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ τὸν ἁψάμενον αὐτῶν
282 ἢ ὁμωρόφιον γενόμενον οὐ καθαρὸν ἡγεῖται. καὶ
μὴν κἂν θεραπευθῇ τὸ νόσημα καὶ τὴν αὑτοῦ
φύσιν ἀπολάβῃ, προείρηκέν τινας ἁγνείας,[1] καθαρ-
μοὺς πηγαίων ὑδάτων λουτροῖς καὶ ξυρήσεις
πάσης τῆς τριχός, πολλάς τε κελεύει καὶ παν-
τοίας ἐπιτελέσαντα θυσίας τότε παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν
283 ἱερὰν πόλιν. καίτοι[2] τοὐναντίον εἰκὸς ἦν προνοίᾳ

[1] + καὶ Lat.

[2] *ed. pr.*: καὶ L.

(30) We have therefore Manetho's authority for saying both that our race was not of Egyptian origin,[a] and that there was no mixture of the races. For, presumably, many of the lepers and other sick folk died during that long period of hardship in the quarries, many more in the subsequent battles, and most of all in the final engagement and the rout.[b] Manetho's admissions

(31) It remains for me to say a word to Manetho about Moses. The Egyptians, who regard that man as remarkable, indeed divine, wish to claim him as one of themselves, while making the incredible and calumnious assertion that he was one of the priests expelled from Heliopolis for leprosy. The chronicles, however, prove that he lived 518 years earlier[c] and conducted our forefathers out of Egypt into the country which we inhabit to-day. And that he suffered from no physical affliction of this nature is clear from his own statements. In fact, he forbids lepers either to stay in a town or to reside in a village; they must be solitary vagrants, with their clothes rent; anyone who touches or lives under the same roof with them he considers unclean. Moreover, even if the malady is cured and the victim returns to his normal condition, Moses prescribes certain rites of purification—to cleanse himself in a bath of spring-water and to cut off all his hair—and requires him to offer a numerous variety of sacrifices before entering the holy city.[d] Yet one would have

Manetho on Moses.

His laws on leprosy could not have been made by a leper.

[a] *Cf.* §§ 75, 104, 252.

[b] Reinach supposes that there is a lacuna in this paragraph; as the text stands the argument is not very clear.

[c] *Cf.* § 230. Manetho never mentions Moses in connexion with the expulsion of the Hycsos.

[d] For the laws on leprosy, here summarized, see Lev. xiii. (especially 45 f.) and xiv.

τινὶ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ χρήσασθαι τὸν ἐν τῇ συμ-
φορᾷ ταύτῃ γεγονότα πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίως[1] αὐτῷ
284 δυστυχήσαντας. οὐ μόνον δὲ περὶ τῶν λεπρῶν
οὕτως ἐνομοθέτησεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῖς καὶ τὸ βραχύ-
τατόν τι τοῦ σώματος ἠκρωτηριασμένοις ἱερᾶσθαι
συγκεχώρηκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μεταξύ τις ἱερώμενος
τοιαύτῃ χρήσαιτο συμφορᾷ, τὴν τιμὴν αὐτὸν
285 ἀφείλετο. πῶς οὖν εἰκὸς ἐκεῖνον[2] ταῦτα νομο-
θετεῖν ἀνοήτως ‹ἢ τοὺς›[3] ἀπὸ τοιούτων συμ-
φορῶν συνειλεγμένους προσέσθαι[4] καθ' ἑαυτῶν εἰς
ὄνειδός τε καὶ βλάβην νόμους συντιθεμένους;
286 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοὔνομα λίαν ἀπιθάνως μετατέθεικεν·
Ὀσαρσὶφ[5] γάρ, φησίν, ἐκαλεῖτο. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν
εἰς τὴν μετάθεσιν οὐκ ἐναρμόζει, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς
ὄνομα δηλοῖ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος σωθέντα [Μωσῆν]·[6]
τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι μῶϋ καλοῦσιν.
287 Ἱκανῶς οὖν γεγονέναι νομίζω κατάδηλον[7] ὅτι
Μανέθως, ἕως μὲν ἠκολούθει ταῖς ἀρχαίαις ἀνα-
γραφαῖς, οὐ πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διημάρτανεν, ἐπὶ
δὲ τοὺς ἀδεσπότους μύθους τραπόμενος ἢ συν-
έθηκεν αὐτοὺς ἀπιθάνως ἤ τισι τῶν πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν
εἰρηκότων ἐπίστευσεν.
288 (32) Μετὰ τοῦτον ἐξετάσαι βούλομαι Χαιρήμονα.
καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Αἰγυπτιακὴν φάσκων ἱστορίαν συγ-
γράφειν καὶ προσθεὶς ταὐτὸ ὄνομα τοῦ βασιλέως
ὅπερ ὁ Μανέθως, Ἀμένωφιν, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ
289 Ῥαμέσσην, φησὶν ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἡ Ἶσις

[1] *ed. pr.*: ὁμοίους L Lat.
[2] ἢ 'κεῖνον Niese.
[3] ins. Niese.
[4] Niese: προέσθαι L.
[5] Ὀαρσὴφ L.
[6] Probably a gloss.
[7] κατάδηλον Bekker: καὶ δῆλον δ' L.

[a] Lev. xxi. 17-23.

expected, on the contrary, a victim of this calamity to have shown some consideration and fellow-feeling for others equally unfortunate. His legislation on these lines was not confined to lepers. The very slightest mutilation of the person was a disqualification for the priesthood, and a priest who in the course of his ministry met with such an accident was deprived of his office.[a] Is it likely that he was so foolish as to make, or persons brought together by such misfortunes to approve, laws enacted against themselves, to their own disgrace and injury? One more remark. Manetho's transformation of the name is extremely unconvincing. He was called, he says, Osarsiph. This name bears no relation to that which it replaces. The true name signifies "one saved out of the water"; for water is called by the Egyptians "mōu."[b]

The conclusion, I think, is sufficiently obvious. So long as Manetho followed the ancient records, he did not go far wrong; but when he had recourse to unauthenticated legends, he either concocted from them a most improbable story, or else trusted the statements of prejudiced opponents.

(ii.) CHAEREMON'S version of the story.

(32) The next witness I shall cross-examine is Chaeremon.[c] This writer likewise professes to write the history of Egypt, and agrees with Manetho in giving the names of Amenophis and Ramesses to the king and his son. He then proceeds to state that

[b] This etymology, which recurs in *A.* ii. 228 (with the addition that *esēs* = "persons saved") and in Philo, *De vit. Mos.* i. 4. § 17, is now generally abandoned. In Ex. ii. 10 the name is derived from Hebr. *mashah*, "draw out."

[c] 1st cent. A.D.; Stoic philosopher, librarian of Alexandria, and afterwards tutor of Nero; besides his chief work, the *History of Egypt*, wrote on hieroglyphics, etc.

ἐφάνη τῷ Ἀμενώφει, μεμφομένη αὐτὸν ὅτι τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κατέσκαπται. Φριτοβαύτην[1] δὲ ἱερογραμματέα φάναι, ἐὰν τῶν τοὺς μολυσμοὺς ἐχόντων ἀνδρῶν καθάρῃ τὴν Αἴγυπτον,
290 παύσεσθαι[2] τῆς πτόας[3] αὐτόν. ἐπιλέξαντα δὲ τῶν ἐπισινῶν μυριάδας εἰκοσιπέντε ἐκβαλεῖν. ἡγεῖσθαι δ' αὐτῶν γραμματέας Μωυσῆν τε καὶ Ἰώσηπον, καὶ τοῦτον ἱερογραμματέα, Αἰγύπτια δ' αὐτοῖς ὀνόματα εἶναι τῷ μὲν Μωυσεῖ Τισιθέν,
291 τῷ δὲ Ἰωσήπῳ Πετεσήφ. τούτους δ' εἰς Πηλούσιον ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖν μυριάσι τριακονταοκτὼ καταλελειμμέναις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώφιος, ἃς οὐ θέλειν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον διακομίζειν· οἷς[4] φιλίαν
292 συνθεμένους ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον στρατεῦσαι. τὸν δὲ Ἀμένωφιν οὐχ ὑπομείναντα τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν φυγεῖν καταλιπόντα τὴν γυναῖκα ἔγκυον, ἣν κρυβομένην ἔν τισι σπηλαίοις τεκεῖν παῖδα ὄνομα Ῥαμέσσην, ὃν ἀνδρωθέντα ἐκδιῶξαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, ὄντας περὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας, καὶ τὸν πατέρα Ἀμένωφιν ἐκ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καταδέξασθαι.

293 (33) Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Χαιρήμων. οἶμαι δὲ αὐτόθεν φανερὰν εἶναι ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων τὴν ἀμφοῖν ψευδολογίαν. ἀληθείας μὲν γάρ τινος ὑποκειμένης ἀδύνατον ἦν διαφωνεῖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, οἱ δὲ τὰ ψευδῆ συντιθέντες οὐχ ἑτέροις σύμφωνα γράφουσιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς τὰ δόξαντα πλάττουσιν.
294 ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ βασιλέως ἵνα τοὺς θεοὺς ἴδῃ φησὶν ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι τῆς τῶν μιαρῶν

[1] After Lat.: Φριτιβαύτην L: Φριτιφάντην (here and in § 295) *ed. pr.*
[2] Niese: παύσασθαι L.
[3] πτοίας *ed. pr.*
[4] *ed. pr.*: εἰς L.

Isis appeared to Amenophis in his sleep, and reproached him for the destruction of her temple in war-time. The sacred scribe Phritobautes told him that, if he purged Egypt of its contaminated population, he might cease to be alarmed. The king, thereupon, collected 250,000 afflicted persons and banished them from the country. Their leaders were scribes, Moses and another sacred scribe—Joseph ![a] Their Egyptian names were Tisithen (for Moses) and Peteseph (Joseph). The exiles on reaching Pelusium fell in with a body of 380,000 persons, left there by Amenophis, who had refused them permission to cross the Egyptian frontier. With these the exiles concluded an alliance and marched upon Egypt. Amenophis, without waiting for their attack, fled to Ethiopia, leaving his wife pregnant. Concealing herself in some caverns she gave birth to a son named Ramesses, who, on reaching manhood, drove the Jews, to the number of about 200,000, into Syria, and brought home his father Amenophis from Ethiopia.

Discrepancies between Manetho and Chaeremon.

(33) Such is Chaeremon's account. From these statements the mendacity of both writers is, I think, self-evident. Had they any foundation in fact, such wide discrepancy would be impossible. But consistency with others is not the concern of authors of fiction ; they invent according to their fancy. Thus, according to Manetho, the expulsion of the contaminated people originated in the king's desire to

[a] Or perhaps "and Joseph, the latter also a sacred scribe." But it is doubtful whether any antithesis between "scribe" and "sacred scribe" is intended.

ἐκβολῆς, ὁ δὲ Χαιρήμων ἴδιον ὡς[1] τῆς Ἴσιδος
295 ἐνύπνιον συντέθεικε. κἀκεῖνος μὲν Ἀμένωφιν εἶναι
λέγει τὸν προειπόντα τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν καθαρμόν,
οὗτος δὲ Φριτοβαύτην. ὁ δὲ δὴ τοῦ πλήθους
ἀριθμὸς καὶ σφόδρα σύνεγγυς, ὀκτὼ μὲν μυριάδας
ἐκείνου λέγοντος, τούτου δὲ πέντε πρὸς ταῖς
296 εἴκοσιν. ἔτι τοίνυν ὁ μὲν Μανέθως πρότερον εἰς
τὰς λιθοτομίας τοὺς μιαροὺς ἐκβαλών, εἶτα αὐτοῖς
τὴν Αὔαριν δοὺς ἐγκατοικεῖν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς
ἄλλους Αἰγυπτίους ἐκπολεμώσας,[2] τότε φησὶν
ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν αὐ-
297 τοὺς ἐπικουρίαν. ὁ δὲ Χαιρήμων ἀπαλλαττο-
μένους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου περὶ Πηλούσιον εὑρεῖν
ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων κατα-
λελειμμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμενώφιος καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνων
πάλιν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐμβαλεῖν, φυγεῖν[3] δὲ τὸν
298 Ἀμένωφιν εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν. τὸ δὲ δὴ γενναιό-
τατον, οὐδὲ τίνες ἢ πόθεν ἦσαν αἱ τοσαῦται τοῦ
στρατοῦ μυριάδες εἴρηκεν, εἴτε Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ
γένος εἴτ᾽ ἔξωθεν ἥκοντες, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τὴν αἰτίαν
διεσάφησε, δι᾽ ἣν αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπ-
τον ἀνάγειν[4] οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ὁ περὶ τῶν λεπρῶν
299 τὸ τῆς Ἴσιδος ἐνύπνιον συμπλάσας. τῷ δὲ Μωυσεῖ
καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ὁ Χαιρήμων ὡς ἐν ταὐτῷ χρόνῳ
συνεξεληλασμένον προστέθεικεν, τὸν πρὸ Μωυσέως
πρεσβύτερον τέσσαρσι γενεαῖς τετελευτηκότα, ὧν
300 ἐστιν ἔτη σχεδὸν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἀλλὰ

[1] *quasi proprium* Lat.: ἠδίων, ὃς Niese.
[2] *ed. pr.*: ἐκπολεμῆσαι L.
[3] *ed. pr.*: φεύγειν L.
[4] ἀγαγεῖν *ed. pr.*

see the gods: Chaeremon invents his own story of the appearance of Isis in a dream. Manetho says that this mode of purification was suggested to the king by Amenophis: Chaeremon mentions Phritobautes. Observe too how nearly their figures coincide in their estimate of the crowd; one speaks of 80,000, the other of 250,000! Again, Manetho begins by throwing the polluted wretches into the quarries, then makes them a present of Auaris for their abode and incites them to war against the rest of the Egyptians, and not until then does he represent them as appealing for aid to Jerusalem. According to Chaeremon's account, they found, on their departure from Egypt, in the neighbourhood of Pelusium, 380,000 persons left there by Amenophis, with whom they retraced their steps and made a raid upon Egypt, resulting in the flight of Amenophis to Ethiopia. But the gem of his narrative is his omission to state who these myriads of soldiers were or whence they came, whether they were native Egyptians or foreign immigrants. He does not even explain why the king would not admit them into Egypt, though his Isis dream about the lepers showed no lack of imagination. With Moses, Chaeremon has associated, as a contemporary and companion in exile, Joseph, who died four generations, that is to say about 170 years, before Moses.[a] Again, according

[a] The four generations come from Ex. vi. 16-20, some forty-two years being reckoned to a generation. "P [the Priestly editor of the Pentateuch] consistently represents Moses or his contemporaries as being in the *fourth* generation (*cf.* Gen. xv. 16) from one or other of Jacob's sons" (Driver); and yet inconsistently makes the duration of the sojourn in Egypt 430 years (Ex. xii. 40; *cf.* Jos. *A.* ii. 204, "400 years").

μὴν ὁ Ῥαμέσσης ὁ τοῦ Ἀμενώφιος υἱὸς κατὰ μὲν τὸν Μανέθων νεανίας συμπολεμεῖ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ συνεκπίπτει φυγὼν εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, οὗτος δὲ πεποίηκεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν ἐν σπηλαίῳ τινὶ γεγενημένον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα νικῶντα μάχῃ καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἰς Συρίαν ἐξελαύνοντα, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντας περὶ μυριάδας κʹ.
301 ὢ τῆς εὐχερείας· οὔτε γὰρ πρότερον οἵτινες ἦσαν αἱ τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ μυριάδες εἶπεν, οὔτε πῶς αἱ τεσσαράκοντα[1] καὶ τρεῖς διεφθάρησαν, πότερον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατέπεσον ἢ πρὸς τὸν Ῥαμέσσην
302 μετεβάλοντο. τὸ δὲ δὴ θαυμασιώτατον, οὐδὲ τίνας καλεῖ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους δυνατόν ἐστι παρ᾿ αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν ἢ ποτέροις αὐτῶν[2] τίθεται ταύτην τὴν προσηγορίαν, ταῖς κεʹ μυριάσι τῶν λεπρῶν
303 ἢ ταῖς ηʹ καὶ λʹ ταῖς περὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εὔηθες ἴσως ἂν εἴη διὰ πλειόνων ἐλέγχειν τοὺς ὑφ᾿ ἑαυτῶν ἐληλεγμένους· τὸ γὰρ ὑπ᾿ ἄλλων ἦν μετριώτερον.
304 (34) Ἐπεισάξω δὲ τούτοις Λυσίμαχον, εἰληφότα μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς προειρημένοις ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ ψεύσματος περὶ τῶν λεπρῶν καὶ λελωβημένων, ὑπερπεπαικότα δὲ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπιθανότητα τοῖς πλάσμασι, δῆλος συντεθεικὼς κατὰ πολλὴν ἀπ-
305 έχθειαν. λέγει γὰρ ἐπὶ Βοκχόρεως τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως τὸν λαὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, λεπροὺς ὄντας

[1] *ed. pr.*: εἴκοσι L. [2] *ed. pr.*: αὐτοῖς L.

[a] A careless contradiction of Chaeremon's statement (§ 292).

[b] The figure given in *ed. pr.* must be right. 250,000 lepers + 380,000 Pelusians = a total of 630,000. Of these only 200,000 are accounted for (§ 292). Josephus inquires what became of the remainder.

to Manetho, Ramesses, son of Amenophis, fought as a young man in his father's army, and shared his flight and banishment to Ethiopia: according to Chaeremon's version, he was born in a cave after his father's death,[a] and subsequently defeated the Jews and drove them out, to the number of about 200,000, into Syria. What reckless levity! First he omitted to state who the 380,000 were; then he tells us nothing of the fate of the 430,000,[b] whether they fell in battle or went over to Ramesses. But—most astounding fact of all—it is impossible to discover from him whom he means by the Jews or to which of the two groups he applies this designation, the 250,000 lepers or the 380,000 at Pelusium. However, it would, I think, be foolish to spend more time in refuting authors who refute each other. To have left refutation to others would have shown more decency.

(34) I will next introduce Lysimachus.[c] He brings up the same theme as the writers just mentioned, the mendacious story of the lepers and cripples, but surpasses both in the incredibility of his fictions, obviously composed with bitter animus. His account is this: (iii.) The account of LYSIMACHUS still more improbable.

In the reign of Bocchoris,[d] king of Egypt, the Jewish people, who were afflicted with leprosy,

[c] Alexandrian writer of uncertain date, but later than Mnaseas (2nd cent. B.C.) whom he quotes. We hear more of him in *Ap.* ii., once (§ 28) as siding with Apion.

[d] A Bocchoris of the XXIVth Dynasty (*c.* 8th cent.) is mentioned by Manetho. That is the date assigned by Apion to the Exodus (*Ap.* ii. 17), and may be that intended by Lysimachus. Josephus, however (*ib.* 16), assigns to Bocchoris a far earlier date; Diodorus also (i. 65) mentions an older Bocchoris. Like Lysimachus, with whose account he shows other parallels, Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 3, places the exodus in the reign of Bocchoris.

καὶ ψωροὺς καὶ ἄλλα νοσήματά τινα ἔχοντας[1] εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ καταφεύγοντας μεταιτεῖν τροφήν, παμπόλλων δὲ ἀνθρώπων νοσηλείᾳ περιπεσόντων
306 ἀκαρπίαν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ γενέσθαι. Βόκχοριν δὲ τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα εἰς Ἄμμωνα[2] πέμψαι περὶ τῆς ἀκαρπίας τοὺς μαντευσομένους, τὸν θεὸν δ' ἀναιρεῖν[3] τὰ ἱερὰ καθᾶραι ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἀνάγνων καὶ δυσσεβῶν, ἐκβαλόντα αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰς τόπους ἐρήμους, τοὺς δὲ ψωροὺς καὶ λεπροὺς βυθίσαι, ὡς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀγανακτοῦντος ἐπὶ τῇ τούτων ζωῇ, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἁγνίσαι, καὶ οὕτω τὴν γῆν
307 καρποφορήσειν. τὸν δὲ Βόκχοριν τοὺς χρησμοὺς λαβόντα τούς τε ἱερεῖς καὶ ἐπιβωμίτας προσκαλεσάμενον κελεῦσαι ἐπιλογὴν ποιησαμένους τῶν ἀκαθάρτων τοῖς στρατιώταις τούτους παραδοῦναι κατάξειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, τοὺς δὲ λεπροὺς εἰς μολιβδίνους χάρτας ἐνδήσαντας,[4] ἵνα καθῶσιν
308 εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. βυθισθέντων δὲ τῶν λεπρῶν καὶ ψωρῶν τοὺς ἄλλους συναθροισθέντας εἰς τόπους ἐρήμους ἐκτεθῆναι ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ, συναχθέντας δὲ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης πῦρ καὶ λύχνους καύσαντας φυλάττειν ἑαυτούς, τήν τ' ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα νηστεύσαντας ἱλάσκεσθαι
309 τοὺς θεοὺς περὶ τοῦ σῶσαι αὐτούς. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Μωυσῆν τινα συμβουλεῦσαι αὐτοῖς παραβαλλομένους[5] μίαν ὁδὸν τέμνειν ἄχρις ἂν [ὅτου][6] ἔλθωσιν εἰς τόπους οἰκουμένους, παρακελεύσασθαί τε αὐτοῖς μήτε ἀνθρώπων τινὶ εὐνοεῖν[7] μήτε

[1] *ed. pr.* (Lat. ?): ἐχόντων L.
[2] L Lat.: Ἄμμωνος Bekker (*cf.* § 312).
[3] Conj. (*cf.* Lat. *respondisse*): ἐρεῖν L, εἰπεῖν *ed. pr.*, ἀνελεῖν Niese.
[4] ? read ἐνδῆσαι.

scurvy, and other maladies, took refuge in the temples and lived a mendicant existence. The victims of disease being very numerous, a dearth ensued throughout Egypt. King Bocchoris thereupon sent to consult the oracle of Ammon [a] about the failure of the crops. The god told him to purge the temples of impure and impious persons, to drive them out of these sanctuaries into the wilderness, to drown those afflicted with leprosy and scurvy, as the sun was indignant that such persons should live, and to purify the temples; then the land would yield her increase. On receiving these oracular instructions, Bocchoris summoned the priests and servitors at the altars, and ordered them to draw up a list of the unclean persons and to deliver them into military charge to be conducted into the wilderness, and to pack the lepers into sheets of lead and sink them in the ocean. The lepers and victims of scurvy having been drowned, the others were collected and exposed in the desert to perish. There they assembled and deliberated on their situation. At nightfall they lit up a bonfire and torches, and mounted guard, and on the following night kept a fast and implored the gods to save them. On the next day a certain Moses advised them to take their courage in their hands and make a straight track until they reached inhabited country, instructing them to show goodwill to no man,[b] to

[a] So Tac. *Hist.* v. 3, "adito Hammonis oraculo." The famous oracle of Amun in an oasis in the Libyan desert.

[b] *Cf. Ap.* ii. 121; Tac. *Hist.* v. 5, "aduersus omnes alios hostile odium."

[5] *ed. pr.*: -μένοις L.

[6] om. *ed. pr.*

[7] Niese: εὐνοήσειν L.

τἄριστα συμβουλεύειν[1] ἀλλὰ τὰ χείρονα, θεῶν τε
ναοὺς καὶ βωμούς, οἷς ἂν περιτύχωσιν, ἀνατρέπειν.
310 συναινεσάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ δοχθέντα ποιοῦν-
τας διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου πορεύεσθαι, ἱκανῶς δὲ ὀχλη-
θέντας ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην χώραν, καὶ τούς
τε ἀνθρώπους ὑβρίζοντας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συλῶντας
καὶ ἐμπρήσαντας ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν νῦν Ἰουδαίαν
προσαγορευομένην, κτίσαντας δὲ πόλιν ἐνταῦθα
311 κατοικεῖν. τὸ δὲ ἄστυ τοῦτο Ἱερόσυλα[2] ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐκείνων διαθέσεως ὠνομάσθαι. ὕστερον δ' αὐτοὺς
ἐπικρατήσαντας χρόνῳ διαλλάξαι τὴν ὀνομασίαν
πρὸς τὸ ‹μὴ›[3] ὀνειδίζεσθαι, καὶ τήν τε πόλιν
Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἱεροσολυμίτας προσ-
αγορεύεσθαι.
312 (35) Οὗτος[4] οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις εὗρεν εἰπεῖν βα-
σιλέα, καινότερον δ' ὄνομα συντέθεικεν, καὶ παρεὶς
ἐνύπνιον καὶ προφήτην Αἰγύπτιον εἰς Ἄμμωνος
ἀπελήλυθεν περὶ τῶν ψωρῶν καὶ λεπρῶν χρησμὸν
313 οἴσων. φησὶ γὰρ εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ συλλέγεσθαι πλῆθος
Ἰουδαίων. ἆρά γε τοῦτο τοῖς λεπροῖς ὄνομα
θέμενος ἢ μόνων τῶν Ἰουδαίων τοῖς νοσήμασι
περιπεσόντων; λέγει γάρ "ὁ λαὸς τῶν Ἰου-
314 δαίων." ὁ ποῖος;[5] ἔπηλυς ἢ τὸ γένος ἐγχώριος;
διὰ τί τοίνυν Αἰγυπτίους αὐτοὺς ὄντας Ἰουδαίους
καλεῖς; εἰ δὲ ξένοι, διὰ τί πόθεν οὐ λέγεις; πῶς
δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν βυθίσαντος
εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς εἰς ἐρήμους
τόπους ἐκβαλόντος, τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὑπ-
315 ελείφθησαν; ἢ τίνα τρόπον διεξῆλθον μὲν τὴν

[1] Niese: ἄριστα συμβουλεύσειν L.
[2] *ed. pr.*: Ἱεροσόλυμα L.
[3] ins. Hudson.
[4] + οὖν Lat. (apparently)
[5] ὁ ποῖος; Herwerden: ὁποῖος L.

offer not the best but the worst advice, and to overthrow any temples and altars of the gods which they found. The rest assenting, they proceeded to put these decisions into practice. They traversed the desert, and after great hardships reached inhabited country: there they maltreated the population, and plundered and set fire to the temples, until they came to the country now called Judaea, where they built a city in which they settled. This town was called Hierosyla [a] because of their sacrilegious propensities. At a later date, when they had risen to power, they altered the name, to avoid the disgraceful imputation, and called the city Hierosolyma and themselves Hierosolymites.

The alleged original name of Jerusalem, Hierosyla.

(35) Lysimachus actually differs from the previous writers in mentioning a king discovered by himself; he has invented a fresh name, and, neglecting the dream and the Egyptian prophet, has gone to Ammon for an oracle concerning the victims of scurvy and leprosy. When he speaks of a multitude of Jews congregating in the temples, does he under this name refer to the lepers, or were the Jews the only persons afflicted with these diseases? He says, "the people of the Jews." What sort of people? Foreigners or natives? If they were Egyptians, why call them Jews? If foreigners, why do you not say where they came from? After the king had drowned many of them in the sea and banished the rest into the wilderness, how came so large a number to survive? How did they traverse the desert, conquer the

Criticism of the story.

[a] *i.e.* "(town) of temple-robbers."

ἔρημον, ἐκράτησαν δὲ τῆς χώρας ἧς νῦν κατοικοῦμεν, ἔκτισαν δὲ καὶ πόλιν καὶ νεὼν ᾠκοδο-
316 μήσαντο πᾶσι περιβόητον; ἐχρῆν δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ νομοθέτου μὴ μόνον εἰπεῖν τοὔνομα, δηλῶσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ γένος ὅστις ἦν καὶ τίνων. διὰ τί δὲ τοιούτους ἂν αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρησε τιθέναι νόμους περὶ θεῶν καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀδικίας κατὰ
317 τὴν πορείαν; εἴτε γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ γένος ἦσαν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν οὕτω ῥᾳδίως μετεβάλοντο, εἴτ᾽ ἀλλαχόθεν ἦσαν, πάντως τινὲς ὑπῆρχον αὐτοῖς νόμοι διὰ μακρᾶς συνηθείας πεφυλαγ-
318 μένοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν ἐξελασάντων αὐτοὺς ὤμοσαν μηδέποτε εὐνοήσειν, λόγον εἶχεν εἰκότα, πᾶσι δὲ πόλεμον ἀνθρώποις ἀκήρυκτον ἄρασθαι τούτους, εἴπερ ἔπραττον ὡς αὐτὸς λέγει κακῶς, παρὰ πάντων βοηθείας δεομένους, ἄνοιαν οὐκ ἐκείνων ἀλλὰ τοῦ ψευδομένου πάνυ πολλὴν παρίστησιν, ὅς γε καὶ τοὔνομα θέσθαι τῇ πόλει ἀπὸ τῆς ἱεροσυλίας αὐτοὺς ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα παρατρέψαι.
319 δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὕστερον γενομένοις αἰσχύνην τοὔνομα καὶ μῖσος ἔφερεν, αὐτοὶ δ᾽ οἱ κτίζοντες τὴν πόλιν κοσμήσειν αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανον οὕτως ὀνομάσαντες. ὁ δὲ γενναῖος ὑπὸ πολλῆς ‹τῆς›[1] τοῦ λοιδορεῖν ἀκρασίας οὐ συνῆκεν ὅτι ἱεροσυλεῖν οὐ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν φωνὴν Ἰουδαῖοι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν
320 ὀνομάζομεν. τί ‹ἂν› οὖν ἐπὶ[2] πλείω τις λέγοι πρὸς τὸν ψευδόμενον οὕτως ἀναισχύντως;

Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ σύμμετρον ἤδη τὸ βιβλίον εἴληφε μέγεθος, ἑτέραν ποιησάμενος ἀρχὴν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν εἰς τὸ προκείμενον πειράσομαι προσαποδοῦναι.

[1] ins. Niese. [2] ἔτι *ed. pr.* (but *cf.* ii. 262).

country which we inhabit to-day, found a city, and build a temple of world-wide renown? He should not have been content with mentioning the law-giver's name; he should have told us of his descent and parentage. And what could have induced him to draw up such laws for them about the gods and about the injuries they were to inflict on mankind during their march? If they were Egyptians, they would not so lightly have abandoned their national customs for others; if they came from elsewhere, they certainly had some laws, cherished by the habits of a lifetime. For an oath of eternal enmity against those who had expelled them there was reasonable ground; but that men who, in the straits in which he represents them to have been, needed assistance from every quarter, should declare implacable war on all mankind, indicates extraordinary folly, not on their part, but on the part of the lying historian. He has, further, ventured to assert that they gave their city a name derived from their temple robberies and afterwards modified it. Obviously the name brought their descendants into disgrace and odium, but the actual founders of the city thought to do themselves honour by so naming it! The worthy man, in his intemperate abuse, has not observed that we Jews do not use the same word as the Greeks to express robbery of temples. What more need be said to so impudent a liar?

This book, however, having already run to a suitable length, I propose at this point to begin a second, in which I shall endeavour to supply the remaining portion of my subject.

ΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ

1 (1) Διὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ προτέρου βιβλίου, τιμιώτατέ
μοι Ἐπαφρόδιτε, περί τε τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἡμῶν
ἐπέδειξα, τοῖς Φοινίκων καὶ Χαλδαίων καὶ Αἰγυπ-
τίων γράμμασι πιστωσάμενος τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ
πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγραφεῖς παρασχόμενος
μάρτυρας, τήν τε ἀντίρρησιν ἐποιησάμην πρὸς
Μανεθῶνα καὶ Χαιρήμονα καί τινας ἑτέρους.
2 ἄρξομαι δὲ νῦν τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν γεγρα-
φότων τι καθ' ἡμῶν ἐλέγχειν. καίτοι περὶ[1] τῆς
πρὸς Ἀπίωνα τὸν γραμματικὸν ἀντιρρήσεως[2]
3 ἐπῆλθέ μοι διαπορεῖν, εἰ χρὴ σπουδάσαι· τὰ μὲν
γάρ ἐστι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένων τοῖς ὑπ'
ἄλλων εἰρημένοις ὅμοια, τὰ δὲ λίαν ψυχρῶς προσ-
τέθεικεν, τὰ πλεῖστα δὲ βωμολοχίαν ἔχει καὶ
πολλήν, εἰ δεῖ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἀπαιδευσίαν, ὡς
ἂν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου συγκείμενα καὶ φαύλου τὸν
τρόπον καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ὀχλαγωγοῦ γεγο-
4 νότος. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν
αὐτῶν ἄνοιαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἁλίσκονται λόγων

[1] καίτοι περὶ *ed. pr.*: καὶ τοῖς L.
[2] So *ed. pr.*: + τετολμημένοις L: Niese suspects a lacuna.

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[a] Apion was born in upper Egypt (*Ap.* ii. 29), studied at Alexandria, and taught rhetoric in Rome under Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius. Under Caligula he headed the anti-

BOOK II

(1) In the first volume of this work, my most esteemed Epaphroditus, I demonstrated the antiquity of our race, corroborating my statements by the writings of Phoenicians, Chaldaeans, and Egyptians, besides citing as witnesses numerous Greek historians; I also challenged the statements of Manetho, Chaeremon, and some others. I shall now proceed to refute the rest of the authors who have attacked us. I am doubtful, indeed, whether the remarks of Apion [a] the grammarian deserve serious refutation. Some of these resemble the allegations made by others, some are very indifferent [b] additions of his own; most of them are pure buffoonery, and, to tell the truth, display the gross ignorance of their author, a man of low character and a charlatan to the end of his days. Yet, since most people are so foolish as to find greater attraction in such compositions than in works of a

Refutation of anti-Semite calumnies continued. (iv.) Apion.

Jewish deputation sent from Alexandria to the Emperor, when he was opposed to Philo, the spokesman of the Alexandrian Jews (*A*. xviii. 257 ff.). An erudite, but ostentatious, writer, he was best known as an interpreter of Homer (*Ap*. ii. 14). He also wrote a History of Egypt in five books, which included references to the Jews (*ib*. 10): whether he wrote a separate work on the Jews is doubtful. His researches earned him the nickname of μόχθος (*labor*), his ostentatious parade that of *cymbalum mundi*, given him by the Emperor Tiberius.

[b] Or "frigid."

μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν μετά τινος σπουδῆς γεγραμμένων, καὶ χαίρουσι μὲν ταῖς λοιδορίαις, ἄχθονται δὲ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην εἶναι μηδὲ τοῦτον ἀνεξέταστον καταλιπεῖν, κατηγορίαν ἡμῶν
5 ἄντικρυς ὡς ἐν δίκῃ γεγραφότα. καὶ γὰρ αὖ κἀκεῖνο τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁρῶ παρακολουθοῦν, τὸ λίαν ἐφήδεσθαι ὅταν τις ἀρξάμενος βλασφημεῖν ἕτερον αὐτὸς ἐλέγχηται περὶ τῶν αὐτῷ
6 προσόντων κακῶν. ἔστι μὲν οὖν οὐ ῥᾴδιον αὐτοῦ διελθεῖν τὸν λόγον οὐδὲ σαφῶς γνῶναι τί λέγειν βούλεται, σχεδὸν δ', ὡς ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ ψευσμάτων συγχύσει, τὰ μὲν εἰς τὴν ὁμοίαν ἰδέαν πίπτει τοῖς προεξητασμένοις περὶ τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου
7 τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων μεταναστάσεως, τὰ δ' ἐστὶ κατηγορία τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων. τρίτον δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέμικται περὶ τῆς ἁγιστείας τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νομίμων κατηγορία.[1]

8 (2) Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὔτε Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ γένος ἦσαν ἡμῶν οἱ πατέρες οὔτε διὰ λύμην σωμάτων ἢ τοιαύτας ἄλλας συμφοράς τινας ἐκεῖθεν ἐξηλάσθησαν, οὐ μετρίως μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πέρα τοῦ συμμέτρου
9 προαποδεδεῖχθαι νομίζω. περὶ ὧν δὲ προστίθησιν
10 ὁ Ἀπίων ἐπιμνησθήσομαι συντόμως. φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν τάδε. "Μωσῆς, ὡς ἤκουσα παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἦν Ἡλιοπολίτης, ὃς πατρίοις ἔθεσι κατηγγυημένος αἰθρίους προσευχὰς ἀνῆγεν εἰς οἵους εἶχεν ἡ πόλις[2]

[1] Bekker: κατηγορίας L Lat.
[2] ἡ πόλις *ed. pr.*: ἥλιος L: perhaps Ἡλίου πόλις should be read.

serious nature, to be charmed by abuse and impatient of praise, I think it incumbent upon me not to pass over without examination even this author, who has written an indictment of us formal enough for a court of law. For I observe, on the other hand, that people in general also have a habit of being intensely delighted when one who has been the first to malign another has his own vices brought home to him. His argument is difficult to summarize and his meaning to grasp. But, so far as the extreme disorder and confusion of his lying statements admit of analysis, one may say that some fall into the same category as those already investigated, relating to the departure of our ancestors from Egypt; others form an indictment of the Jewish residents in Alexandria; while a third class, mixed up with the rest, consists of accusations against our temple rites and our ordinances in general.

(a) On the exodus from Egypt.

(2) That our ancestors neither were Egyptians by race nor were expelled from that country in consequence of contagious diseases or any similar affliction, I think I have already given not merely sufficient, but even superabundant, proof. I propose, however, briefly to mention the details added by Apion. In the third book of his *History of Egypt* he makes the following statement:

On the shrines and sundials erected by Moses of Heliopolis.

"Moses, as I have heard from old people[a] in Egypt, was a native of Heliopolis,[b] who, being pledged to the customs of his country, erected prayer-houses, open to the air, in the various

[a] So Josephus interprets below; possibly Apion meant "the elders" (in official sense).
[b] So Manetho, of Osarsiph, *Ap.* i. 238.

περιβόλους, πρὸς ἀφηλιώτην δὲ πάσας ἀπέστρεφεν·
11 ὧδε γὰρ καὶ Ἡλίου κεῖται πόλις. ἀντὶ δὲ ὀβελῶν
ἔστησε κίονας, ὑφ᾿ οἷς ἦν ἐκτύπωμα σκάφη, σκιὰ
δ᾿ ἀνδριάντος[1] ἐπ᾿ αὐτὴν διακειμένη, ὡς ὂν[2] ἐν
αἰθέρι τοῦτον ἀεὶ τὸν δρόμον ἡλίῳ συμπεριπολεῖ."
12 τοιαύτη μέν τις ἡ θαυμαστὴ τοῦ γραμματικοῦ
φράσις, τὸ δὲ ψεῦσμα λόγων οὐ δεόμενον, ἀλλ᾿ ἐκ
τῶν ἔργων περιφανές. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς Μωσῆς,
ὅτε τὴν πρώτην σκηνὴν τῷ θεῷ κατεσκεύασεν,
οὐθὲν ἐκτύπωμα τοιοῦτον εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνέθηκεν, οὔτε
ποιεῖν τοῖς ἔπειτα προσέταξεν, ὅ τε μετὰ ταῦτα
κατασκευάσας τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις
Σολομὼν πάσης ἀπέσχετο τοιαύτης περιεργίας
13 οἵαν συμπέπλεκεν Ἀπίων. ἀκοῦσαι δέ φησι τῶν
πρεσβυτέρων ὅτι Μωσῆς ἦν[3] Ἡλιοπολίτης, δῆλον
ὅτι νεώτερος μὲν ὢν αὐτός, ἐκείνοις δὲ πιστεύσας
τοῖς διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐπισταμένοις αὐτὸν καὶ συγ-
14 γενομένοις. καὶ περὶ μὲν Ὁμήρου τοῦ ποιητοῦ
γραμματικὸς ὢν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι, τίς αὐτοῦ
πατρίς ἐστι, διαβεβαιωσάμενος εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲ περὶ
Πυθαγόρου μόνον οὐκ ἐχθὲς καὶ πρῴην γεγονότος,
περὶ δὲ Μωσέως τοσούτῳ πλήθει προάγοντος
ἐκείνους ἐτῶν οὕτως ἀποφαίνεται ῥᾳδίως, πιστεύων
ἀκοῇ πρεσβυτέρων, ὡς δῆλός ἐστι καταψευσά-
μενος.

[1] Conjecture of translator: ἀνδρὸς L.
[2] Huet: ὅτι L. [3] fuit Lat.: ὁ L.

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[a] Or "on the various walls."
[b] For the obelisks of Heliopolis *cf.* Herod. ii. 111.
[c] Or "basin" (Gr. σκάφη, the technical term for the concave base of a sun-dial).
[d] Emended text; *i.e.* a human figure surmounting the pillar. The MS. has "the shadow of a man."

precincts [a] of the city, all facing eastwards; such being the orientation also of Heliopolis. In place of obelisks [b] he set up pillars, beneath which was a model of a boat [c]; and the shadow cast on this basin by the statue [d] described a circle corresponding to the course of the sun in the heavens."

Such is the grammarian's amazing statement. Its mendacious character needs no comment; it is exposed by the facts. When Moses built the first tabernacle for God, he neither placed in it himself, nor instructed his successors to make, any graven imagery of this kind. When Solomon, later on, built the temple at Jerusalem, he too refrained from any curiosities of art such as Apion has conceived. He tells us that he heard from "old people" that Moses was a Heliopolitan. Obviously, as a junior, he believed what he was told by men old enough to have known and associated with him! [e] Literary critic as he was, he could not positively have stated what was the birthplace of the poet Homer,[f] or even of Pythagoras,[g] who lived, one may say, but the other day. But when asked about Moses, who preceded them by such a vast number of years, he, on the strength of the old men's report, answers with an assurance which proclaims him a liar.

[e] Reinach aptly compares Athen. i. § 29 (p. 161): "Apion the Alexandrian says that he heard from Cteson of Ithaca the nature of the game of draughts played by the suitors (of Penelope)."

[f] *Cf.* the old distich: "Smyrna, Rhodos, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenae, | Orbis de patria certat, Homere, tua."

[g] Variously described as a Samian, Tyrrhenian, Syrian (? native of Syros), or Tyrian (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 14, § 62, quoted by Reinach).

15 Τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν χρόνων ἐν οἷς φησι τὸν Μωσῆν ἐξαγαγεῖν τοὺς λεπρῶντας καὶ τυφλοὺς καὶ τὰς βάσεις πεπηρωμένους, σφόδρα δὴ τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ συμπεφώνηκεν, ὡς οἶμαι, ὁ γραμματικὸς ὁ ἀκριβής.
16 Μανέθως μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Τεθμώσιος βασιλείαν ἀπαλλαγῆναί φησιν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, πρὸ ἐτῶν τριακοσίων ἐνενηκοντατριῶν τῆς εἰς Ἄργος Δαναοῦ φυγῆς, Λυσίμαχος δὲ κατὰ Βόκχοριν τὸν βασιλέα, τουτέστι πρὸ ἐτῶν χιλίων ἑπτακοσίων, Μόλων δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ὡς αὐ-
17 τοῖς ἔδοξεν. ὁ δέ γε πάντων πιστότατος Ἀπίων ὡρίσατο τὴν ἔξοδον ἀκριβῶς κατὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ ταύτης ἔτος εἶναι πρῶτον, ἐν ᾧ, φησί, Καρχηδόνα Φοίνικες ἔκτισαν. τοῦτο δὲ πάντως προσέθηκε τὸ Καρχηδόνα τεκμήριον οἰόμενος αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τῆς ἀληθείας ἐναργέστατον, οὐ συνῆκε δὲ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἔλεγχον ἐπισπώμενος.
18 εἰ γὰρ[1] πιστεύειν δεῖ ταῖς Φοινίκων ἀναγραφαῖς, ἐν ἐκείναις Εἴρωμος ὁ βασιλεὺς γέγραπται πρεσβύτερος τῆς Καρχηδόνος κτίσεως ἔτεσι πλείοσι πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, περὶ οὗ τὰς πίστεις ἀνωτέρω παρέσχον ἐκ τῶν Φοινίκων
19 ἀναγραφῶν, ὅτι Σολομῶντι τῷ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομησαμένῳ τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις φίλος ἦν Εἴρωμος καὶ πολλὰ συνεβάλλετο πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευήν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Σολομὼν ᾠκοδόμησε τὸν ναὸν μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς Ἰουδαίους δώδεκα καὶ ἑξακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ὕστερον.

[1] + περὶ τῆς ἀπιστίας L Lat. : + περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας *ed. pr.*, "on the subject of the colony" (which should perhaps stand).

[a] *Ap.* i. 103. [b] *Ib.* 305.

[c] Apollonius Molo, born in Caria, taught rhetoric in Rhodes

On the question of the date which he assigns to the exodus of the lepers, the blind and the lame under Moses' leadership, we shall find, I imagine, this accurate grammarian in perfect agreement with previous writers. Well, Manetho states that the departure of the Jews from Egypt occurred in the reign of Tethmosis, 393 years before the flight of Danaus to Argos[a]; Lysimachus says, under King Bocchoris,[b] that is to say, 1700 years ago; Molon[c] and others fix a date to suit themselves. Apion, however, the surest authority of all, precisely dates the exodus in the seventh Olympiad, and in the first year of that Olympiad, the year in which, according to him, the Phoenicians founded Carthage.[d] This mention of Carthage he has doubtless inserted under the belief that it would afford a striking proof of his veracity; he has failed to see that he has thereby brought upon himself his own refutation. For, if the Phoenician chronicles may be trusted, it is there recorded that King Hirom lived more than 150 years before the foundation of Carthage.[e] Evidence from those chronicles to this effect has been given earlier in this work, where I showed that Hirom was a friend of Solomon, who built the Temple at Jerusalem, and that he contributed largely towards its construction.[f] But Solomon himself built the Temple 612 years after the departure of the Jews from Egypt.[g]

On the date of the exodus.

752–749 B.C.

and at Rome; Cicero and Julius Caesar were among his pupils. His diatribes on the Jews are frequently mentioned in this book.

[d] Also the date of the foundation of Rome.

[e] *Ap.* i. 126.

[f] *Ib.* 109 f.

[g] So Josephus in *A.* xx. 230; elsewhere (*A.* viii. 61) he gives the period as 592 years; the Biblical figure (1 Kings vi. 1) is 480.

20 Τὸν δὲ ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐλασθέντων τὸν αὐτὸν
Λυσιμάχῳ σχεδιάσας, ἕνδεκα γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἶναί
φησι μυριάδας, θαυμαστήν τινα καὶ πιθανὴν
ἀποδίδωσιν αἰτίαν, ἀφ' ἧς φησι τὸ σάββατον
21 ὠνομάσθαι. "ὁδεύσαντες," γάρ φησιν, "ἓξ ἡμε-
ρῶν ὁδὸν βουβῶνας ἔσχον καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν
αἰτίαν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνεπαύσαντο σωθέντες
εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν νῦν Ἰουδαίαν λεγομένην, καὶ
ἐκάλεσαν τὴν ἡμέραν σάββατον σώζοντες τὴν
Αἰγυπτίων γλῶτταν· τὸ γὰρ βουβῶνος ἄλγος
22 καλοῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι σαββώ.[1]" οὐκ ἂν οὖν τις ἢ
καταγελάσειε τῆς φλυαρίας ἢ τοὐναντίον μισήσειε
τὴν ἐν τῷ τοιαῦτα γράφειν ἀναίδειαν; δῆλον γὰρ
ὅτι πάντες ἐβουβωνίασαν ἕνδεκα μυριάδες ἀνθρώ-
23 πων. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἦσαν ἐκεῖνοι τυφλοὶ καὶ χωλοὶ
καὶ πάντα τρόπον νοσοῦντες, ὁποίους αὐτοὺς εἶναί
φησιν Ἀπίων, οὐδ' ἂν μιᾶς ἡμέρας προελθεῖν ὁδὸν
ἠδυνήθησαν· εἰ δ' οἷοι βαδίζειν διὰ πολλῆς ἐρημίας
καὶ προσέτι νικᾶν τοὺς αὐτοῖς ἀνθισταμένους
μαχόμενοι πάντες, οὐκ ἂν ἀθρόοι μετὰ τὴν ἕκτην
24 ἡμέραν ἐβουβωνίασαν. οὔτε γὰρ φύσει πως γί-
νεται <τὸ>[2] τοιοῦτον τοῖς βαδίζουσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης,
ἀλλὰ πολλαὶ μυριάδες στρατοπέδων ἐπὶ πολλὰς
ἡμέρας τὸ σύμμετρον ἀεὶ βαδίζουσιν, οὔτε κατὰ
ταὐτόματον εἰκὸς οὕτως συμβῆναι· πάντων γὰρ
25 ἀλογώτατον. ὁ δὲ θαυμαστὸς Ἀπίων διὰ μὲν ἓξ
ἡμερῶν αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προείρηκε,
πάλιν δὲ τὸν Μωυσῆν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς Αἰγύπτου
καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας ὄρος, ὃ καλεῖται Σίναιον, ἀνα-

[1] Reinach with the Lat.: σαββάτωσις L. *Cf.* §§ 26 f.
[2] ins. Bekker.

After stating that the fugitives numbered 110,000, in which imaginary figure he agrees with Lysimachus,[a] he gives an astonishing and plausible explanation of the etymology of the word "sabbath"! On the origin of the word "sabbath."

> "After a six days' march," he says, "they developed tumours in the groin, and that was why, after safely reaching the country now called Judaea, they rested on the seventh day, and called that day *sabbaton*, preserving the Egyptian terminology; for disease of the groin in Egypt is called *sabbo*."

One knows not whether to laugh at the nonsense, or rather to be indignant at the impudence, of such language. Clearly all these 110,000 persons were attacked by tumours. But if they were blind and lame and suffering from all kinds of disease, as represented by Apion, they could not have accomplished a single day's march. If, on the contrary, they were capable not only of traversing a vast desert, but of defeating their adversaries in battles in which they all took part, they would not have succumbed in a body to the tumours after six days. For persons on a forced march are not naturally subject to a malady of this kind; myriads of men in armies maintain a regular pace for many days in succession. Nor can one attribute such an accident to chance; that would be the height of absurdity. This astonishing Apion, after stating that they reached Judaea in six days,[b] tells us elsewhere that Moses went up into the mountain called Sinai, which lies between Egypt

[a] No figure is given in the extract from Lysimachus above (*Ap.* i. chap. 34).

[b] Apion does not say this in the extract above (§ 21), though his words lend themselves to such an interpretation.

βάντα φησὶν ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα κρυβῆναι, κἀκεῖθεν καταβάντα δοῦναι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοὺς νόμους. καίτοι πῶς οἷόν τε τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα μένειν ἡμέρας ἐν ἐρήμῳ καὶ ἀνύδρῳ τόπῳ καὶ τὴν μεταξὺ πᾶσαν ἐν ἡμέραις ἓξ δι-
26 ελθεῖν; ἡ δὲ περὶ τὴν ὀνομασίαν τοῦ σαββάτου γραμματικὴ μετάθεσις ἀναίδειαν ἔχει πολλὴν ἢ
27 δεινὴν ἀμαθίαν. τὸ γὰρ σαββὼ καὶ σάββατον πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρει· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σάββατον κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίων διάλεκτον ἀνάπαυσίς ἐστιν ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου, τὸ δὲ σαββώ, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνός φησι, δηλοῖ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις τὸ βουβῶνος ἄλγος.

28 (3) Τοιαῦτα μέν τινα περὶ Μωσέως καὶ τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου γενομένης τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀπαλλαγῆς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος Ἀπίων ἐκαινοποίησεν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπινοήσας. καὶ τί γε δεῖ θαυμάζειν εἰ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ψεύδεται προγόνων, λέγων αὐτοὺς εἶναι
29 τὸ γένος Αἰγυπτίους; αὐτὸς γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοὐναντίον ἐψεύδετο καὶ γεγενημένος[1] ἐν Ὀάσει τῆς Αἰγύπτου, πάντων Αἰγυπτίων πρῶτος ὤν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πατρίδα καὶ τὸ γένος ἐξωμόσατο, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς δὲ εἶναι καταψευδόμενος
30 ὁμολογεῖ τὴν μοχθηρίαν τοῦ γένους. εἰκότως οὖν οὓς μισεῖ καὶ βούλεται λοιδορεῖν τούτους Αἰγυπτίους καλεῖ. εἰ μὴ γὰρ φαυλοτάτους εἶναι ἐνόμιζεν Αἰγυπτίους, οὐκ ἂν τὸ γένος[2] αὐτὸς ἔφυγεν, ὡς οἵ γε μεγαλοφρονοῦντες ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πατρίσι σεμνύνονται μὲν ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτοὶ χρηματίζοντες, τοὺς ἀδίκως[3] δ' αὐτῶν ἀντι-
31 ποιουμένους ἐλέγχουσι. πρὸς ἡμᾶς δὲ δυοῖν θάτε-

[1] *ed. pr.*: γεγεννημένος L.
[2] Lat. genus: τοῦ γένους L. [3] *ed. pr.*: ἀδίκους L.

and Arabia, remained in concealment there for forty days, and then descended and gave the Jews their laws. However could the same body of men stay forty days in a desert and waterless region, and yet cover the whole distance to their destination in six days? The grammarian's distortion of the word "sabbath" betrays either gross impudence or shocking ignorance; there is a wide difference between *sabbo* and *sabbaton*. *Sabbaton* in the Jews' language denotes cessation from all work, while *sabbo* among the Egyptians signifies, as he states, disease of the groin.

On the Egyptian origin of the Jewish race.

(3) Such are some of the novel features which the Egyptian Apion, improving upon other authors, has introduced into the story of Moses and the departure of the Jews from Egypt. That he should lie about our ancestors and assert that they were Egyptians by race is by no means surprising. He told a lie which was the reverse of this one about himself. Born in the Egyptian oasis,[a] more Egyptian than them all, as one might say, he disowned his true country and falsely claimed to be an Alexandrian, thereby admitting the ignominy of his race. It is therefore natural that he should call persons whom he detests and wishes to abuse Egyptians. Had he not had the meanest opinion of natives of Egypt, he would never have turned his back on his own nation. Patriots are proud to bear their country's name, and denounce those who lay unjust claim to the title of citizens. In their relation to us, Egyptians are

[a] The Great Oasis, in upper Egypt (*cf.* § 41), west of Thebes.

ρον Αἰγύπτιοι πεπόνθασιν· ἢ γὰρ ὡς ἐπισεμνυνόμενοι προσποιοῦνται τὴν συγγένειαν, ἢ κοινωνοὺς
32 ἡμᾶς ἐπισπῶνται τῆς αὐτῶν κακοδοξίας. ὁ δὲ γενναῖος Ἀπίων δοκεῖ μὲν τὴν βλασφημίαν τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ὥσπερ τινὰ μισθὸν ἐθελῆσαι παρασχεῖν Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι τῆς δοθείσης αὐτῷ πολιτείας, καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν αὐτῶν ἐπιστάμενος τὴν πρὸς τοὺς συνοικοῦντας αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἰουδαίους προτέθειται μὲν ἐκείνοις λοιδορεῖσθαι, συμπεριλαμβάνει[1] δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἀναισχύντως ψευδόμενος.

33 (4) Τίνα τοίνυν ἐστὶ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ σχέτλια τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων, ἃ κατηγόρηκεν αὐτῶν, ἴδωμεν. "ἐλθόντες," φησίν, "ἀπὸ Συρίας ᾤκησαν πρὸς ἀλίμενον θάλασσαν γειτνιά-
34 σαντες ταῖς τῶν κυμάτων ἐκβολαῖς." οὐκοῦν τόπος εἰ λοιδορίαν ἔχει, τὴν οὐ πατρίδα μὲν λεγομένην δὲ αὐτοῦ λοιδορεῖ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· ἐκείνης γὰρ καὶ τὸ παράλιόν ἐστι μέρος, ὡς πάντες ὁμο-
35 λογοῦσιν, εἰς κατοίκησιν τὸ κάλλιστον. Ἰουδαῖοι δ' εἰ μὲν βιασάμενοι κατέσχον, ὡς μηδ' ὕστερον ἐκπεσεῖν, ἀνδρείας τεκμήριόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς· εἰς κατοίκησιν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν <τὸν> τόπον Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἴσης παρὰ τοῖς Μακεδόσι τιμῆς ἐπέτυχον.
36 (οὐκ οἶδα δὲ τί ποτ' ἂν ἔλεγεν Ἀπίων, εἰ[2] πρὸς τῇ

[1] *ed. pr.*: συμπεριλαμβάνειν L.
[2] εἰ *ed. pr.*: om. L.

[a] The Jewish quarter was on the N.E. of Alexandria, separated from the Great Harbour by the promontory of Lochias, on which stood the royal palace (Strabo, xvii. 9. 794; *cf.* § 36 below). The necropolis (§ 36) was at the other end, the extreme west, of the city.

swayed by one of two feelings: either they feign to be our kinsmen in order to gain prestige, or else they drag us into their ranks to share their bad reputation. The noble Apion's calumny upon us is apparently designed as a sort of return to the Alexandrians for the rights of citizenship which they bestowed upon him. Knowing their hatred of their Jewish neighbours in Alexandria, he has made it his aim to vilify the latter, and has included all the rest of the Jews in his condemnation. In both these attacks he shows himself an impudent liar.

(b) Apion's accusations against the Jews of Alexandria.

(4) Let us investigate the grave and shocking charges which he has brought against the Jewish residents in Alexandria. "They came," he says, "from Syria and settled by a sea without a harbour, close beside the spot where the waves break on the beach." Well, if fault is to be found with the locality, he is stigmatizing, I do not say his native place, but what he professes to be his native place, Alexandria. For the sea-board forms part of the city, and is, by universal consent, its finest residential quarter.[a] If the Jews owed their occupation and subsequent undisturbed tenure of this quarter to force of arms, that is a proof of their valour. In fact, however, it was presented to them as their residence by Alexander, and they obtained privileges on a par with those of the Macedonians.[b] (I do not know what Apion would have said if the Jews had been quartered

[b] From other passages in Josephus it would appear that the Alexandrian Jews owed their separate quarters and their privilege of ἰσοπολιτεία to Ptolemy Soter, rather than to Alexander. *Cf. B.* ii. 487 f. (a "place of their own" is given by the Diadochi), *A.* xii. 8 (ἰσοπολιτεία by Ptolemy Soter).

νεκροπόλει κατῴκουν καὶ μὴ πρὸς τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ἦσαν ἱδρυμένοι.) καὶ μέχρι νῦν αὐτῶν ἡ φυλὴ τὴν
37 προσηγορίαν εἶχεν Μακεδόνες. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀναγνοὺς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὰς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου, καὶ τῶν μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων ἐντυχὼν τοῖς γράμμασι, καὶ τὴν στήλην τὴν ἑστῶσαν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα περιέχουσαν, ἃ Καῖσαρ ὁ μέγας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἔδωκεν, εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα, φημί, γιγνώσκων τἀναντία γράφειν ἐτόλμα, πονηρὸς ἦν, εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἠπίστατο τούτων, ἀπαίδευτος.

38 Τὸ δὲ δὴ θαυμάζειν πῶς Ἰουδαῖοι ὄντες Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐκλήθησαν, τῆς ὁμοίας ἀπαιδευσίας. πάντες γὰρ οἱ εἰς ἀποικίαν τινὰ κατακληθέντες, κἂν πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων τοῖς γένεσι διαφέρωσιν, ἀπὸ
39 τῶν οἰκιστῶν τὴν προσηγορίαν λαμβάνουσιν. καὶ τί δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγειν; αὐτῶν γὰρ ἡμῶν οἱ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατοικοῦντες Ἀντιοχεῖς ὀνομάζονται· τὴν γὰρ πολιτείαν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ὁ κτίστης Σέλευκος. ὁμοίως οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ[1] κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰωνίαν τοῖς αὐθιγενέσι πολίταις ὁμωνυμοῦσιν, τοῦτο παρασχόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν διαδόχων.
40 ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων φιλανθρωπία πᾶσιν οὐ μικροῦ δεῖν τῆς αὐτῶν προσηγορίας μεταδέδωκεν, οὐ μόνον ἀνδράσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλοις ἔθνεσιν ὅλοις; Ἴβηρες

[1] *καὶ ed.pr.*: om. L Lat.

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[a] This sentence is perhaps a later, and misplaced, insertion of the author. Niese and Reinach transpose it to the end of § 34.

in the neighbourhood not of the palace, but of the necropolis !)[a] Down to the present time their local tribe bore the name of "Macedonians." If Apion had read the letters[b] of King Alexander and of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, if he had set eyes on the papers of their successors on the throne of Egypt, or the slab[c] which stands in Alexandria, recording the rights bestowed upon the Jews by Caesar the Great; if, I say, he knew these documents and yet had the face to contradict them in what he wrote, he was a knave; if he had no knowledge of them, an ignorant fool.

His astonishment at the idea of Jews being called Alexandrians betrays similar stupidity. All persons invited to join a colony, however different their nationality, take the name of the founders. It is needless to go outside our race for instances. Our Jewish residents in Antioch are called Antiochenes, having been granted rights of citizenship by its founder, Seleucus.[d] Similarly, those at Ephesus and throughout the rest of Ionia bear the same name as the indigenous citizens, a right which they received from Alexander's successors.[e] Have not the Romans, in their generosity, imparted their name to well-nigh all mankind, not to individuals only, but to great nations as a whole? Thus those who were

Their claim to Alexandrian citizenship.

[b] Or possibly "orders."

[c] Greek *stele*; *cf.* *A.* xiv. 188.

[d] Seleucus I Nicator, founder of the Seleucid dynasty. *Cf.* *A.* xii. 119; the rights of the Antiochene Jews were, when Titus visited the city, inscribed on bronze tables (*B.* vii. 110).

[e] More precisely, as stated in *A.* xii. 125, from Antiochus II Theos (262–246 B.C.); see Schürer, *G.J.V.* (ed. 3), iii. 81 note.

γοῦν οἱ πάλαι καὶ Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Σαβῖνοι Ῥωμαῖοι
41 καλοῦνται. εἰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν τρόπον τῆς πολιτείας Ἀπίων, παυσάσθω λέγων αὑτὸν Ἀλεξανδρέα· γεννηθεὶς γάρ, ὡς προεῖπον, ἐν τῷ βαθυτάτῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πῶς ἂν Ἀλεξανδρεὺς εἴη, τῆς κατὰ δόσιν πολιτείας, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἠξίωκεν, ἀναιρουμένης; καίτοι μόνοις Αἰγυπτίοις οἱ κύριοι νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς οἰκουμένης μετα-
42 λαμβάνειν ἠστινοσοῦν πολιτείας ἀπειρήκασιν. ὁ δ' οὕτως ἐστὶ γενναῖος, ὡς μετέχειν ἀξιῶν αὐτὸς ὧν τυχεῖν ἐκωλύετο συκοφαντεῖν ἐπεχείρησε τοὺς δικαίως λαβόντας.

Οὐ γὰρ ἀπορίᾳ γε τῶν οἰκησόντων τὴν μετὰ σπουδῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πόλιν κτιζομένην Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν ἡμετέρων τινὰς ἐκεῖ συνήθροισεν, ἀλλὰ πάντας δοκιμάζων ἐπιμελῶς ἀρετῆς καὶ πίστεως τοῦτο
43 τοῖς ἡμετέροις τὸ γέρας ἔδωκεν. ἐτίμα γὰρ ἡμῶν τὸ ἔθνος, ὥς καί φησιν Ἑκαταῖος περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν καὶ πίστιν, ἣν αὐτῷ παρέσχον Ἰουδαῖοι, τὴν Σαμαρεῖτιν χώραν προσέθηκεν ἔχειν
44 αὐτοῖς ἀφορολόγητον. ὅμοια δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατοικούντων ἐφρόνησεν· καὶ γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὴν

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[a] This statement, so far as the Iberians are concerned, is, as Reinach points out, an exaggeration. Fifty Spanish communities enjoyed full Roman citizenship under Augustus; Vespasian bestowed the *ius Latii* (an inferior privilege) on the whole peninsula: Mommsen, *Provinces of Rom. Emp.* i. 68 f.

[b] § 29.

[c] An exaggerated statement, repeated in § 72 below. Native Egyptians were treated, alike by the Ptolemies and by the Roman emperors, as on a lower level than the Greeks. But they could obtain rights of Roman citizenship on the following conditions: (1) that they had previously obtained

once Iberians,[a] Tyrrhenians, Sabines are now called Romans. If Apion disallows this class of citizenship, let him cease to call himself an Alexandrian. Born, as I have already mentioned,[b] in the depths of Egypt, how can he be an Alexandrian, if, as he claims in our case, honorary rights of citizenship are to be ruled out? Indeed, Egyptians are the only people to whom the Romans, now lords of the universe, have refused admission to any citizen rights whatever.[c] Yet Apion displays such noble generosity as to claim for himself privileges from which he was debarred, while he undertakes to calumniate those who have fairly obtained them.

For it was not lack of inhabitants to people the city, whose foundation he had so much at heart, that led Alexander to assemble in it a colony of our nation. This privilege he conferred on our people, after careful and thorough scrutiny, as a reward of valour and fidelity. The honour in which he held our nation may be illustrated by the statement of Hecataeus that, in recognition of the consideration and loyalty shown to him by the Jews, he added to their territory the district of Samaria free of tribute.[d] Alexander's opinion of the Jews of Alexandria was shared by Ptolemy, son of Lagus. He entrusted the fortresses

Privileges bestowed on them by Alexander and successive Ptolemies.

the citizenship of Alexandria, a privilege rarely accorded (Pliny to Trajan, *Ep.* vi., with Trajan's reply, *Ep.* vii.); (2) that they were ineligible for admission to the Senate. Reinach, *in loc.*; *cf.* Mommsen, *Provinces*, ii. 241 f.

[d] This statement (? of pseudo-Hecataeus) is certainly exaggerated, and perhaps an anachronism. Three small districts of Samaria (not the whole country) were ceded to the Jews, free of tribute, by Demetrius II *c.* 145 B.C. (1 Macc. xi. 34; *cf.* x. 30, 38); but the language of 1 Macc. suggests that Demetrius may have been confirming some concession of earlier date.

Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῖς ἐνεχείρισε φρούρια, πιστῶς ἅμα καὶ γενναίως φυλάξειν ὑπολαμβάνων, καὶ Κυρήνης ἐγκρατῶς ἄρχειν βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ πόλεων εἰς αὐτὰς μέρος Ἰουδαίων
45 ἔπεμψε κατοικῆσον. ὁ δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτὸν Πτολεμαῖος, ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐπικληθείς, οὐ μόνον εἴ τινες ἦσαν αἰχμάλωτοι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τῶν ἡμετέρων πάντας ἀπέδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα πολλάκις ἐδωρήσατο καί, τὸ μέγιστον, ἐπιθυμητὴς ἐγένετο τοῦ γνῶναι τοὺς ἡμετέρους νόμους καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν
46 βίβλοις ἐντυχεῖν. ἔπεμψε γοῦν ἀξιῶν ἄνδρας ἀποσταλῆναι τοὺς ἑρμηνεύσοντας αὐτῷ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τοῦ γραφῆναι ταῦτα καλῶς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπέταξεν οὐ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ Δημήτριον τὸν Φαληρέα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν καὶ Ἀριστέα, τὸν μὲν παιδείᾳ τῶν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν διαφέροντα[1] Δημήτριον,
47 τοὺς δὲ τὴν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ φυλακὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένους, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ταύτης ἔταξεν, οὐκ ἂν δήπου τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν πάτριον ἡμῶν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπιθυμήσας ἐκμαθεῖν, εἰ τῶν χρωμένων αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν κατεφρόνει καὶ μὴ λίαν ἐθαύμαζεν.

48 (5) Ἀπίωνα δὲ σχεδὸν ἐφεξῆς πάντες ἔλαθον οἱ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ Μακεδόνων[2] βασιλεῖς οἰκειότατα πρὸς ἡμᾶς διατεθέντες. καὶ γὰρ τρίτος Πτολεμαῖος, ὁ λεγόμενος Εὐεργέτης, κατασχὼν ὅλην

[1] *ed. pr.*: διαφερόντων L.
[2] Ironical: needlessly omitted by Naber and Reinach.

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[a] Josephus is dependent, here and in *A.* xii. 8, on Aristeas 13; but several Jewish garrisons are known to have existed in Egypt (Schürer, *G.J.V.*, ed. 3, 22). One of these, the "Jewish camp" in the Delta, is mentioned in *B.* i. 191 (= *A.* xiv. 133).

of Egypt to their keeping,[a] confident of their loyalty and bravery as guards; and, when he was anxious to strengthen his hold upon Cyrene and the other cities of Libya, he sent out a party of Jews to settle there.[b] His successor, Ptolemy surnamed Philadelphus, not only surrendered all prisoners of our race within his realm, but was liberal in his presents of money. The highest compliment, however, which he paid us lay in his keen desire to know our laws and to read the books of our sacred scriptures. It is, at any rate, the fact that he sent and requisitioned the services of Jewish deputies to interpret the law to him; and, to ensure accuracy in transcription, entrusted the task to no ordinary persons. Demetrius of Phalerum,[c] with Andreas and Aristeas, the first the most learned man of his time, the others his own bodyguards, were his appointed commissioners.[d] Surely he would not have shown such keen interest in our laws and the creed[e] of our ancestors, had he despised, instead of holding in the highest admiration, those to whom they are the rule of their lives.

(5) Apion has further ignored the extreme kindness shown to us successively by nearly all the kings of his Macedonian[f] ancestors. Thus, Ptolemy III surnamed Euergetes,[g] after his conquest of the 247-222 B.C.

[b] The Jews of Cyrene in the time of Sulla formed one of the four classes of the inhabitants (Strabo *ap.* Jos. *A.* xiv. 115).

[c] *Ap.* i. 218.

[d] These statements are derived from the so-called *Letter of Aristeas*, paraphrased by Josephus in *A.* xii. 12 ff.

[e] Greek "philosophy."

[f] See note 2 opposite.

[g] Of his achievements in the Syrian War at the beginning of his reign he left a record at Adule on the coast of the Red Sea (Mahaffy, *Emp. of Ptolemies*, 199); for his sacrifices at Jerusalem Josephus is the sole authority.

Συρίαν κατὰ κράτος οὐ τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θεοῖς χαριστήρια τῆς νίκης ἔθυσεν, ἀλλὰ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα πολλάς, ὡς ἡμῖν νόμιμόν ἐστιν, ἐπετέλεσε θυσίας τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἀνέθηκεν ἀναθήματα
49 τῆς νίκης ἀξίως. ὁ δὲ Φιλομήτωρ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτρα τὴν βασιλείαν ὅλην τὴν ἑαυτῶν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπίστευσαν, καὶ στρατηγοὶ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἦσαν Ὀνίας καὶ Δοσίθεος Ἰουδαῖοι, ὧν Ἀπίων σκώπτει τὰ ὀνόματα, δέον τὰ ἔργα θαυμάζειν καὶ μὴ λοιδορεῖν, ἀλλὰ χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν, ὅτι διέσωσαν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἧς
50 ὡς πολίτης ἀντιποιεῖται. πολεμούντων γὰρ αὐτῶν τῇ βασιλίσσῃ Κλεοπάτρᾳ καὶ κινδυνευόντων ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς, οὗτοι συμβάσεις ἐποίησαν καὶ τῶν ἐμφυλίων κακῶν ἀπήλλαξαν. ἀλλὰ "μετὰ ταῦτα," φησίν, "Ὀνίας ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἤγαγε στρατὸν <οὐκ>[1] ὀλίγον, ὄντος ἐκεῖ Θέρμου τοῦ παρὰ
51 Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ παρόντος." ὀρθῶς δὲ ποιῶν, φαίην ἄν, καὶ μάλα δικαίως. ὁ γὰρ Φύσκων ἐπικληθεὶς Πτολεμαῖος, ἀποθανόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλομήτορος, ἀπὸ Κυρήνης ἐξῆλθε Κλεοπάτραν ἐκβαλεῖν βουλόμενος τῆς βα-
52 σιλείας[2] et filios regis, ut ipse regnum iniuste sibimet applicaret; propter haec ergo Onias aduersus eum bellum pro Cleopatra suscepit et fidem, quam habuit

[1] ins. Holwerda.
[2] Lacuna in L to § 114 (see Introduction p. xviii).

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[a] By some identified as Onias IV, the founder of the Temple at Leontopolis (*c.* 154 B.C.); but the name was not uncommon. Of Dositheus nothing is known.
[b] Doubtless deriving Onias from Greek ὄνος.
[c] On the death of Philometor in 146 B.C., his widow

whole of Syria, instead of sacrificing to the gods of Egypt in thanksgiving for his success, came to Jerusalem, and there, after our manner, offered numerous sacrifices to God, and dedicated votive gifts appropriate to such a victory. Again, Ptolemy Philometor and his consort Cleopatra entrusted the whole of their realm to Jews, and placed their entire army under the command of Jewish generals, Onias[a] and Dositheus. Apion ridicules their names,[b] when he ought rather to admire their achievements, and, instead of abusing them, to thank them for saving Alexandria, of which he claims to be a citizen. For, when the Alexandrians were at war with Queen Cleopatra and in imminent danger of annihilation, it was they who negotiated terms and rid them of the horrors of civil war.[c] "But," says Apion, "Onias subsequently advanced at the head of a large army against the city, when Thermus,[d] the Roman ambassador, was actually on the spot." He was right and perfectly justified in so acting, I venture to say. For, on the death of his brother Ptolemy Philometor, Ptolemy surnamed Physcon left Cyrene with the intention of dethroning Cleopatra and the deceased king's sons, and iniquitously usurping the crown himself. That was why, on Cleopatra's behalf, Onias took up arms against him, refusing to abandon at a crisis his allegiance to the

182-146 B.C.

The Jews Onias and Dositheus made commanders-in-chief.

Cleopatra proclaimed king their young son Ptolemy VIII (Philopator Neos). The brother of the dead king, however, Ptolemy IX (Euergetes II, Physcon), was recalled from Cyrene by the Alexandrians, slew his youthful rival, seized the throne, and married the widowed queen, his sister (Justin, epitome by Trogus Pompeius, xxxviii. 8. 2-4).

[d] Doubtless the Lucius Thermus who acted on behalf of Physcon on a previous occasion (Polyb. frag. xxxiii. 5).

53 circa reges, nequaquam in necessitate deseruit. Testis
autem deus iustitiae eius manifestus apparuit; nam
Fyscon Ptolomaeus cum aduersum exercitum quidem
Oniae pugnare <non>[1] praesumeret, omnes uero
Iudaeos in ciuitate positos cum filiis et uxoribus
capiens nudos atque uinctos elephantis subiecisset,
ut ab eis conculcati deficerent, et ad hoc etiam bestias
ipsas inebriasset,[2] in contrarium quae praeparauerat
54 euenerunt. Elephanti enim relinquentes sibi ap-
positos Iudaeos impetu facto super amicos eius
multos ex ipsis interemerunt. Et post haec Ptolo-
maeus quidem aspectum terribilem contemplatus est
55 prohibentem se, ut illis noceret hominibus; concu-
bina uero sua carissima, quam alii quidem Ithacam,
alii uero Hirenen denominant, supplicante ne tantam
impietatem perageret, ei concessit et ex his quae iam
egerat uel acturus erat paenitentiam egit. Unde
recte hanc diem Iudaei Alexandria constituti, eo
quod aperte a deo salutem promeruerunt, celebrare
56 noscuntur. Apion autem omnium calumniator etiam
propter bellum aduersus Fysconem gestum Iudaeos
accusare praesumpsit, cum eos laudare debuerit.
Is autem etiam ultimae Cleopatrae Alexandri-
norum reginae meminit, ueluti nobis improperans
quoniam circa nos fuit ingrata, et non potius illam
57 redarguere studuit; cui nihil omnino iniustitiae et
malorum operum defuit uel circa generis necessarios
uel circa maritos suos, qui etiam dilexerunt eam, uel
in communi contra Romanos omnes et benefactores

[1] ins. Reinach. [2] debriasset MSS.

[a] The incident of the elephants is attributed in 3 Macc. v-vi to Ptolemy IV, Philopator (222–205 B.C.). The common origin of both stories is doubtless traceable to a festival of the Alexandrian Jews, analogous to that of *Purim*

throne. Moreover, the justice of his action was signally attested by God. For Ptolemy Physcon, though [not] daring to face the army of Onias, had arrested all the Jews in the city with their wives and children, and exposed them, naked and in chains, to be trampled to death by elephants, the beasts being actually made drunk for the purpose. However, the outcome was the reverse of his intentions. The elephants, without touching the Jews at their feet, rushed at Physcon's friends, and killed a large number of them. Afterwards Ptolemy saw a terrible apparition, which forbade him to injure these people. His favourite concubine (some call her Ithaca, others Irene) adding her entreaty to him not to perpetrate such an enormity, he gave way and repented of his past actions and further designs. That is the origin of the well-known feast which the Jews of Alexandria keep, with good reason, on this day, because of the deliverance so manifestly vouchsafed to them by God.[a] Apion, however, whose calumny nothing escapes, ventures to find another charge against the Jews in their war on Physcon, for which they deserve his commendation.

Persecution of Jews by Ptolemy Physcon and its sequel.

He further alludes to Cleopatra, the last queen of Alexandria,[b] apparently reproaching *us* for her ungracious treatment of us. He ought, instead, to have set himself to rebuke that woman, who committed every kind of iniquity and crime against her relatives, her devoted husbands,[c] the Romans in

Persecution by the infamous Cleopatra.

(*cf.* 3 Macc. vi. 36). The independent account of Josephus is the less improbable of the two.

[b] 51–30 B.C. For a similar catalogue of her crimes *cf. A.* xv. 89 ff.

[c] Perhaps "her husbands and even her lovers"; the Latin translator having misunderstood the original (Reinach).

suos imperatores; quae etiam sororem Arsinoen
58 occidit in templo nihil sibi nocentem, peremit autem et fratrem insidiis paternosque deos et sepulcra progenitorum depopulata est; percipiensque regnum a primo Caesare eius filio et successori rebellare praesumpsit, Antoniumque corrumpens amatoriis rebus et patriae inimicum fecit et infidelem circa suos amicos instituit, alios quidem genere regali spolians, alios autem demens[1] et ad mala gerenda
59 compellens. Sed quid oportet amplius dici, cum illum ipsum in nauali certamine relinquens, id est maritum et parentem communium filiorum, tradere eum exercitum et principatum et se sequi coegit?
60 Nouissime uero Alexandria a Caesare capta ad hoc usque perducta est, ut salutem hinc sperare se iudicaret, si posset ipsa manu sua Iudaeos[2] perimere, eo quod circa omnes crudelis et infidelis extaret. Putasne gloriandum nobis non esse, si quemadmodum dicit Apion famis tempore Iudaeis triticum non est mensa?

61 Sed illa quidem poenam subiit competentem, nos autem maximo Caesare utimur teste solacii atque fidei, quam circa eum contra Aegyptios gessimus, necnon et senatu eiusque dogmatibus et epistulis Caesaris Augusti, quibus nostra merita comprobantur.
62 Has litteras Apionem oportebat inspicere et secundum

[1] *v.l.* deiciens.

[2] The Lat. is manifestly absurd. Probably, as Reinach suggests, the Greek had something like εἰ δύναται αὐτὴν αὐτόχειρ φονεύειν: αὐτὴν was corrupted to αὐτοὺς and thence to Ἰουδαίους.

[a] Slain by Antony, under Cleopatra's orders, in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus (Jos. *A*. xv. 89) or at Miletus (App. *Bell. Civ*. v. 9).

[b] Ptolemy XV, the younger of her two brothers, her

general, and their emperors, her benefactors; who slew her innocent sister Arsinoe in the temple,[a] treacherously assassinated her brother,[b] plundered her country's gods and her ancestors' sepulchres[c]; who, owing her throne to the first Caesar, dared to revolt against his son and successor, and, corrupting Antony by sensual passion, made him an enemy to his country and faithless to his friends, robbing some of their royal rank, discharging[d] others, and driving them into crime. But what more need be said, when she deserted even him—her husband and the father of their children—in the naval battle,[e] and compelled him to surrender his army and imperial title to follow her? In the end, when Alexandria was captured by Caesar,[f] she was reduced to such extremities as to see no hope for herself but in suicide, after the cruelty and treachery which she had practised towards all. If, as Apion asserts, this woman in time of famine refused to give the Jews any rations of corn, is not that, pray, a fact of which we should be proud?

Privileges bestowed by Roman emperors on Jews of Alexandria.

She, however, met with the punishment which she deserved. We, on our side, have the great Caesar to witness to the loyal support which we rendered him against the Egyptians;[g] we have also the senate and its decrees and the letters of Caesar Augustus which attest our services. Apion ought to have consulted these letters and examined, under their

husband and co-regent, believed to have been poisoned by her at Rome *c.* 44 B.C.; *cf. A.* xv. 89.

[c] *Cf. A.* xv. 90.

[d] Text and meaning doubtful.

[e] Of Actium, 31 B.C.

[f] Octavius, 30 B.C.

[g] The Jewish contingent under Antipater served with Julius Caesar in his war with Alexandria after the death of Pompey, 47 B.C.; *B.* i. 187 ff.; *A.* xiv. 127 ff.

genera examinare testimonia sub Alexandro facta et omnibus Ptolomaeis, et quae a senatu constituta sunt, necnon et a maximis Romanis imperatoribus.
63 Si uero Germanicus frumenta cunctis in Alexandria commorantibus metiri non potuit, hoc indicium est sterilitatis ac necessitatis frumentorum, non accusatio Iudaeorum. Quid enim sapiant omnes imperatores de Iudaeis in Alexandria commorantibus, palam est.
64 Nam amministratio tritici nihilo minus ab eis quam ab aliis Alexandrinis translata est; maximam uero eis fidem olim a regibus datam conseruauerunt, id est fluminis custodiam totiusque †custodiae†,[1] nequaquam his rebus indignos esse iudicantes.
65 (6) Sed super haec, "quomodo ergo," inquit, "si sunt ciues, eosdem deos quos Alexandrini non colunt?" Cui respondeo, quomodo etiam, cum uos sitis Aegyptii, inter alterutros proelio magno et sine foedere de
66 religione contenditis? An certe propterea non uos omnes dicimus Aegyptios et neque communiter homines, quoniam bestias aduersantes naturae nostrae colitis multa diligentia nutrientes? Cum genus utique nostrorum unum atque[2] idem esse
67 uideatur. Si autem in uobis Aegyptiis tantae differentiae opinionum sunt, quid miraris super his, qui aliunde in Alexandriam aduenerunt, si in legibus a principio constitutis circa talia permanserunt?

[1] Perhaps read prouinciae (Boysen).
[2] nostrorum unum atque] *v.l.* nostrum uestrumque.

[a] Or "generals."
[b] Germanicus, nephew of Tiberius, visited Egypt in A.D. 19, and ingratiated himself by opening the granaries and reducing the price of corn (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 59).
[c] *Cf. B.* i. 175 (a Jewish guard in charge of the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile).
[d] *Cf.* for these local religious feuds Juv. *Sat.* xv. 33 ff., and *Ap.* i. 225 above.

respective heads, the testimonials given under Alexander and under all the Ptolemies, with those emanating from the senate and the most distinguished Roman emperors.[a] If Germanicus was unable to distribute corn to all the inhabitants of Alexandria,[b] that merely proves a barren year and a dearth of corn, and cannot be made an accusation against the Jews. For the opinion which all the emperors have held of the Jewish residents in Alexandria is notorious. The administration of the corn supplies has, indeed, been withdrawn from them, as from the rest of the Alexandrians; but the most signal mark of the confidence reposed in them by the former kings, I mean the charge of the river[c] and of the entire province (?), has been preserved to them by the emperors, who regarded them as not unworthy of such a trust.

Jewish refusal to worship Egyptian gods.

(6) "But," Apion persists, "why, then, if they are citizens, do they not worship the same gods as the Alexandrians?" To which I reply: "Why do you, on your side, though Egyptians, wage with one another bitter and implacable war on the subject of religion?"[d] Indeed, is not the reason why we refuse to call you all Egyptians, or even collectively men, because you worship and breed with so much care animals that are hostile to humanity? We, on the other hand, obviously form a single and united race.[e] Wide, however, as may be these differences of opinion among your natives of Egypt, why should you be surprised at the allegiance to their original religious laws of a people who came to Alexandria from another country?

[a] The text and meaning of this section are doubtful.

68 Is autem etiam seditionis causas nobis apponit, qui si cum ueritate ob hoc accusat Iudaeos in Alexandria constitutos, cur omnes nos culpat ubique positos eo quod noscamur habere concordiam?
69 Porro etiam seditionis auctores quilibet inueniet Apioni similes Alexandrinorum fuisse ciues. Donec enim Graeci fuerunt et Macedones hanc ciuilitatem habentes, nullam seditionem aduersus nos gesserunt, sed antiquis cessere sollemnitatibus. Cum uero multitudo Aegyptiorum creuisset inter eos propter confusiones temporum, etiam hoc opus semper est additum. Nostrum uero genus permansit purum.
70 Ipsi igitur molestiae huius fuere principium, nequaquam populo Macedonicam habente constantiam neque prudentiam Graecam, sed cunctis scilicet utentibus malis moribus Aegyptiorum et antiquas inimicitias aduersum nos exercentibus.

71 E diuerso namque factum est quod nobis improperare praesumunt. Nam cum plurimi eorum non opportune ius eius ciuilitatis optineant, peregrinos uocant eos, qui hoc priuilegium a dominis impetrasse[1]
72 noscuntur. Nam Aegyptiis neque regum quisquam uidetur ius ciuilitatis fuisse largitus, neque nunc quilibet imperatorum. Nos autem Alexander quidem introduxit, reges autem auxerunt, Romani uero semper custodire dignati sunt.

73 Itaque derogare nobis Apion conatus est, quia

[1] Boysen: ad omnes imperasse MSS.

He further accuses us of fomenting sedition. But, if it be granted that he is justified in bringing this accusation against the Jews of Alexandria, why then does he make a grievance against the Jews at large of the notorious concord of our race? Moreover, the real promoters of sedition, as anyone can discover, have been citizens of Alexandria of the type of Apion. The Greeks and Macedonians, so long as the citizenship was confined to them, never rose against us, but left us free to enjoy our ancient worship. But when, owing to the prevailing disorders, their numbers were swelled by a host of Egyptians, sedition became chronic. Our race, on the contrary, remained unadulterated. It is they, then, who originated these disturbances, because the populace, possessing neither the Macedonian's strength of character nor the Greek's sagacity, universally adopted the evil habits of the Egyptians and indulged their long-standing hatred of us. Jews accused of causing sedition.

The reproach which they dare to cast at us is applicable, on the contrary, to them. The majority of them hold their position as citizens of Alexandria under no regular title; yet they call those who notoriously obtained this privilege from the proper authorities "aliens"! Not a single king, it appears, not a single emperor in our times, ever conferred citizen rights upon Egyptians.[a] We, on the contrary, owe our position in the city to Alexander, our privileges were extended by the kings, and those privileges the Romans have been pleased to safeguard for all time.

Apion has consequently attempted to denounce

[a] *Cf.* § 41 with note.

imperatorum non statuamus imagines, tamquam illis hoc ignorantibus aut defensione Apionis indigentibus; cum potius debuerit ammirari magnanimitatem mediocritatemque Romanorum, quoniam subiectos non cogunt patria iura transcendere, sed suscipiunt honores sicut dare offerentes pium atque legitimum est. Non enim honoribus[1] gratiam habent qui ex
74 necessitate et uiolentia conferuntur. Graecis itaque et aliis quibusdam bonum esse creditur imagines instituere; denique et patrum et uxorum filiorumque figuras depingentes exultant, quidam uero etiam nihil sibi competentium sumunt imagines, alii uero et seruos diligentes hoc faciunt. Quid ergo mirum est si etiam principibus ac dominis hunc honorem
75 praebere uideantur? Porro noster legislator, non quasi prophetans Romanorum potentiam non honorandam, sed tamquam causam neque deo neque hominibus utilem despiciens, et quoniam totius animati, multo magis dei inanimati, ut[2] probatur
76 inferius, interdixit imagines fabricari. Aliis autem honoribus post deum colendos non prohibuit uiros bonos, quibus nos et imperatores et populum Roma-
77 norum dignitatibus ampliamus. Facimus autem pro eis continua sacrificia et non solum cotidianis diebus ex impensa communi omnium Iudaeorum talia celebramus, uerum cum nullas alias hostias ex com-

[1] honoris MSS.: honores Boysen.
[2] inanimati ut] inanimatu MSS.

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[a] Josephus probably has in mind Caligula's order to erect his statue in the Temple at Jerusalem (*A*. xviii. 261 ff.) and the part played by Apion in the deputation to the emperor at that time.

[b] *Cf*. §§ 167, 190 f. below.

us on the ground that we do not erect statues of the emperors. As if they were ignorant of the fact or needed Apion to defend them! [a] He should rather have admired the magnanimity and moderation of the Romans in not requiring their subjects to violate their national laws, and being content to accept such honours as the religious and legal obligations of the donors permit them to pay. They are not grateful for honours conferred under compulsion and constraint. The Greeks, with some other nations, think it right to make statues: they delight in depicting the portraits of parents, wives, and children; some even obtain likenesses of persons totally unconnected with them, others do the same for favourite slaves. What wonder, then, to find them rendering this honour to their emperors and masters as well? On the other hand, our legislator, not in order to put, as it were, a prophetic veto upon honours paid to the Roman authority, but out of contempt for a practice profitable to neither God nor man, forbade the making of images, alike of any living creature, and much more of God, who, as is shown later on,[b] is not a creature. He did not, however, forbid the payment of homage of another sort, secondary to that paid to God, to worthy men; such honours we do confer upon the emperors and the people of Rome. For them we offer perpetual sacrifices; and not only do we perform these ceremonies daily,[c] at the expense of the whole Jewish community,[d] but, while we offer no other victims in our corporate capacity, even

We do not erect statues of the emperors, but pay them peculiar honours.

[c] *Twice* daily, according to *B.* ii. 197.

[d] From Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, § 157, it appears that these sacrifices were originally instituted by the emperor *at his own expense*. *Cf.* Schürer, *G.J.V.*, ed. 3, ii. 303 (E.T. div. ii. vol. i. 303).

muni neque pro filiis peragamus, solis imperatoribus hunc honorem praecipuum pariter exhibemus, quem
78 hominum nulli persoluimus. Haec itaque communiter satisfactio posita sit aduersus Apionem pro his quae de Alexandria dicta sunt.

79 (7) Ammiror autem etiam eos qui ei huiusmodi fomitem praebuerunt, id est Posidonium et Apollonium Molonis, quoniam accusant quidem nos, quare nos eosdem deos cum aliis non colimus, mentientes autem pariter et de nostro templo blasphemias componentes incongruas non se putant impie agere; dum sit ualde turpissimum liberis qualibet ratione mentiri, multo magis de templo apud cunctos homines nominato tanta sanctitate pollente.

80 In hoc enim sacrario Apion praesumpsit edicere asini caput collocasse Iudaeos et eum[1] colere ac dignum facere tanta religione, et hoc affirmat fuisse depalatum, dum Antiochus Epiphanes expoliasset templum et illud caput inuentum ex auro com-
81 positum multis pecuniis dignum. Ad haec igitur prius equidem dico, quoniam Aegyptius, uel si aliquid tale apud nos fuisset, nequaquam debuerat increpare, cum non sit deterior asinus furonibus et hircis et aliis,

[1] id Naber.

[a] Such seems to be the meaning of *neque pro filiis*; *cf.* Ezra vi. 10 ("pray for the life of the king and of his sons"); Bar. i. 11.

[b] Posidonius of Apameia, *c.* 135-51 B.C., famous Stoic philosopher and historian, a friend of Pompey and Cicero.

[c] As he is called elsewhere; *cf.* § 16 above. The text has *Molonis*, *i.e.* "(son) of Molon."

[d] *Liberis*, apparently = ἐλευθερίοις.

[e] This widespread calumny of uncertain origin appears in various forms. Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 3 f., narrates that Moses, by following a herd of wild asses, discovered water in the

for the [imperial] family,[a] we jointly accord to the emperors alone this signal honour which we pay to no other individual. I have now given, I think, a comprehensive and sufficient reply to Apion's remarks on the subject of Alexandria.

(7) I am no less amazed at the proceedings of the authors who supplied him with his materials, I mean Posidonius[b] and Apollonius Molon.[c] On the one hand they charge us with not worshipping the same gods as other people; on the other, they tell lies and invent absurd calumnies about our temple, without showing any consciousness of impiety. Yet to high-minded men[d] nothing is more disgraceful than a lie, of any description, but above all on the subject of a temple of world-wide fame and commanding sanctity. (c) Calumnies about the temple ritual.

Within this sanctuary Apion has the effrontery to assert that the Jews kept an ass's head,[e] worshipping that animal and deeming it worthy of the deepest reverence; the fact was disclosed, he maintains, on the occasion of the spoliation of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes,[f] when the head, made of gold and worth a high price, was discovered. On this I will first remark that, even if we did possess any such object, an Egyptian should be the last person to reproach us; for an ass is no worse than the cats[g] (?), he-goats, and other creatures which in his Ridiculous story of the worship of an ass's head. c. 170 B.C.

wilderness, whence the Jews *effigiem animalis quo monstrante errorem sitimque depulerant penetrali sacravere.* Diodorus (xxxiv. frag.) states that Ant. Epiphanes found in the temple a statue of a bearded man (= Moses) seated on an ass. The charge of ass-worship was afterwards transferred to the Christians (Tertull. *Apol.* 16).

[f] *Cf. A.* xii. v. 4 (where no mention is made of the ass's head).

[g] *furonibus* (word elsewhere unknown).

82 quae sunt apud eos dii. Deinde quomodo non intellexit operibus increpatus de incredibili suo mendacio? Legibus namque semper utimur hisdem, in quibus sine fine consistimus, et cum uarii casus nostram ciuitatem sicut etiam aliorum uexauerint, et Pius[1] ac Pompeius Magnus et Licinius Crassus et ad nouissimum Titus Caesar bello uincentes optinuerint templum, nihil huiusmodi illic inuenerunt, sed purissimam pietatem, de qua nihil nobis est apud
83 alios effabile. Quia uero Antiochus neque iustam fecit templi depraedationem, sed egestate pecuniarum ad hoc accessit, cum non esset hostis, et super nos auxiliatores suos et amicos adgressus est, nec
84 aliquid dignum derisione illic inuenit, multi et digni conscriptores super hoc quoque testantur, Polybius Megalopolita, Strabon Cappadox, Nicolaus Damascenus, Timagenis et Castor temporum conscriptor et Apollodorus; omnes dicunt pecuniis indigentem Antiochum transgressum foedera Iudaeorum ex-
85 poliasse[2] templum auro argentoque plenum. Haec igitur Apion debuit respicere, nisi cor asini ipse potius habuisset et impudentiam canis, qui apud ipsos assolet coli; neque enim extrinsecus aliqua
86 ratiocinatione mentitus est. Nos itaque asinis neque honorem neque potestatem aliquam damus, sicut

[1] Dius MSS.: Pius Niese, *i.e.* Antiochus VII surnamed Eusebes, from his piety at the siege of Jerusalem, *c.* 135 B.C., *A.* xiii. 244. Josephus perhaps wrote θεός (= Diuus) through confusion with Antiochus VI surnamed Theos, *A.* xiii. 218.

[2] Niese: et spoliasse MSS.

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[a] Governor of Syria 54–53 B.C.; *A.* xiv. 105 ff.

[b] As the emphasis in this context is on the *absence* of mysteries in Jewish worship, Reinach is probably right in emending *effabile* to *ineffabile*, which occurs in §§ 94, 107. In

country rank as gods. Next, how did it escape him that the facts convict him of telling an incredible lie? Throughout our history we have kept the same laws, to which we are eternally faithful. Yet, notwithstanding the various calamities which our city, like others, has undergone, when the temple was occupied by successive conquerors, [Antiochus] the Pious, Pompey the Great, Licinius Crassus,[a] and c. 135 B.C.
most recently Titus Caesar, they found there nothing 63 B.C. 54–3 B.C.
of the kind, but the purest type of religion, the A.D. 70.
secrets of which we may not reveal to aliens.[b] That the raid of Antiochus [Epiphanes] on the temple was iniquitous, that it was impecuniosity which drove him to invade it, when he was not an open enemy, that he attacked us, his allies and friends, and that he found there nothing to deserve ridicule; these facts are attested by many sober historians. Polybius of Megalopolis, Strabo the Cappadocian, Nicolas of Damascus, Timagenes,[c] Castor the chronicler,[d] and Apollodorus[e] all assert that it was impecuniosity which induced Antiochus, in violation of his treaties with the Jews, to plunder the temple with its stores of gold and silver. There is the evidence which Apion should have considered, had he not himself been gifted with the mind of an ass and the impudence of the dog, which his countrymen are wont to worship. An outsider can make no sense of his lies.[f] We Jews attribute no honour or virtue to asses, such as is

that case translate: "of which we have no secrets to conceal from aliens."

[c] Historian of 1st cent. B.C.; Josephus knew his work at second hand through Strabo.

[d] *Ap.* i. 184.

[e] 2nd cent. B.C.; author of *Chronica* and of the best ancient work on Greek mythology.

[f] Meaning doubtful; I take *extrinsecus* as = ⟨τῷ⟩ ἔξωθεν.

Aegyptii crocodillis et aspidibus, quando eos qui ab istis mordentur et a crocodillis rapiuntur felices et
87 deo dignos arbitrantur. Sed sunt apud nos asini quod apud alios sapientes uiros onera sibimet imposita sustinentes, et licet ad areas accedentes comedant aut uiam propositam non adimpleant, multas ualde plagas accipiunt, quippe operibus et ad agri-
88 culturam rebus necessariis ministrantes. Sed aut omnium gurdissimus fuit Apion ad componendum uerba fallacia aut certe ex rebus initia sumens haec implere non ualuit, quando nulla potest contra nos blasphemia prouenire.

89 (8) Alteram uero fabulam derogatione nostra plenam de Graecis apposuit, de quo hoc dicere sat erit, quoniam qui de pietate loqui praesumunt oportet eos non ignorare minus esse inmundum per templa transire quam sacerdotibus scelesta uerba confingere.
90 Isti uero magis studuerunt defendere sacrilegum regem quam iusta et ueracia de nostris et de templo conscribere. Uolentes enim Antiocho praestare et infidelitatem ac sacrilegium eius tegere, quo circa gentem nostram est usus propter egestatem pecuniarum, detrahentes nobis etiam quae in futuro sunt[1]
91 dicenda mentiti sunt. Propheta uero aliorum factus est Apion et dixit Antiochum in templo inuenisse lectum et hominem in eo iacentem et propositam ei mensam maritimis terrenisque et uolatilium dapibus
92 plenam, et[2] obstipuisset his homo. Illum uero mox adorasse regis ingressum tamquam maximum ei solacium praebiturum ac procidentem ad eius genua

[1] Niese: essent MSS. [2] + quod Naber.

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[a] Meaning doubtful. [b] Or, perhaps, "about Greeks."
[c] *homo* = ὁ ἄνθρωπος (elsewhere used with such *nuance*). If Antiochus were meant, as Niese supposes, we should expect *uir* (= ὁ ἀνήρ).

ascribed to crocodiles and asps by Egyptians, who regard persons bitten by a viper or mauled by a crocodile as blessed souls found worthy of God. With us, as with other sensible people, asses are beasts that carry loads on their backs, and if they invade our threshing-floors and eat the corn, or stop short on the road, they are soundly beaten, as humble ministers for labour and agriculture. Either Apion was the greatest blockhead as a writer of fiction, or, to say the least, he could draw no just conclusion from such facts as he had to start from;[a] for every one of his calumnies upon us is a failure.

Another calumnious story: the annual murder of a Greek.

(8) He adds a second story, of Greek origin,[b] which is a malicious slander upon us from beginning to end. On this it will suffice to remark that persons who venture upon religious topics ought to be aware that there is less profanity in violating the precincts of a temple than in calumniating its priests. But these authors are more concerned to uphold a sacrilegious king than to give a fair and veracious description of our rites and temple. In their anxiety to defend Antiochus and to cover up the perfidy and sacrilege practised upon our nation under pressure of an empty exchequer, they have further invented, to discredit us, the fictitious story which follows. Apion, who is here the spokesman of others, asserts that:—

> Antiochus found in the temple a couch, on which a man was reclining, with a table before him laden with a banquet of fish of the sea, beasts of the earth, and birds of the air, at which the poor fellow[c] was gazing in stupefaction. The king's entry was instantly hailed by him with adoration, as about to procure him profound relief; falling at the

extensa dextra poposcisse libertatem; et iubente rege ut confideret et diceret, quis esset uel cur ibidem habitaret uel quae esset causa ciborum eius, tunc hominem cum gemitu et lacrimis lamentabiliter
93 suam narrasse necessitatem. Ait, inquit, esse quidem se Graecum, et dum peragraret prouinciam propter uitae causam direptum se subito ab alienigenis hominibus atque deductum ad templum et inclusum illic, et a nullo conspici, sed cuncta dapium prae-
94 paratione saginari. Et primum quidem haec sibi inopinabilia beneficia prodidisse et detulisse laetitiam, deinde suspicionem, postea stuporem, ac postremum consulentem a ministris ad se accedentibus audisse legem ineffabilem Iudaeorum, pro qua nutriebatur, et hoc illos facere singulis annis quodam tempore
95 constituto: et compraehendere quidem Graecum peregrinum eumque annali tempore saginare, et deductum ad quandam siluam occidere quidem eum hominem eiusque corpus sacrificare secundum suas sollemnitates, et gustare ex eius uisceribus, et iusiurandum facere in immolatione Graeci, ut inimicitias contra Graecos haberent, et tunc in quandam
96 foueam reliqua hominis pereuntis abicere. Deinde refert eum dixisse paucos iam dies de uita[1] sibimet superesse atque rogasse ut, erubescens Graecorum deos et superans[2] in suo sanguine insidias Iudaeorum, de malis eum circumastantibus liberaret.

97 Huiusmodi ergo fabula non tantum omni tragoedia plenissima est, sed etiam impudentia crudeli redundat.

[1] de uita conj. Boysen: debita MSS.
[2] superantes MSS.: text doubtful.

king's knees, he stretched out his right hand and implored him to set him free. The king reassured him and bade him tell him who he was, why he was living there, what was the meaning of his abundant fare. Thereupon, with sighs and tears, the man, in a pitiful tone, told the tale of his distress. He said that he was a Greek and that, while travelling about the province for his livelihood, he was suddenly kidnapped by men of a foreign race and conveyed to the temple; there he was shut up and seen by nobody, but was fattened on feasts of the most lavish description. At first these unlooked for attentions deceived him and caused him pleasure; suspicion followed, then consternation. Finally, on consulting the attendants who waited upon him, he heard of the unutterable law of the Jews, for the sake of which he was being fed. The practice was repeated annually at a fixed season. They would kidnap a Greek foreigner, fatten him up for a year, and then convey him to a wood, where they slew him, sacrificed his body with their customary ritual, partook of his flesh,[a] and, while immolating the Greek, swore an oath of hostility to the Greeks. The remains of their victim were then thrown into a pit. The man (Apion continues) stated that he had now but a few days left to live, and implored the king, out of respect for the gods of Greece, to defeat this Jewish plot upon his life-blood and to deliver him from his miserable predicament.

A tale of this kind is not merely packed with all the horrors of a tragedy; it is also replete with the

[a] Lat. *uiscera*: *i.e.* all except skin, bones and blood.

Non tamen a sacrilegio priuat Antiochum, sicut arbi-
trati sunt qui haec ad illius gratiam conscripserunt ;
98 non enim praesumpsit aliquid tale, ut ad templum
accederet, sed sicut aiunt inuenit non sperans. Fuit
ergo uoluntate iniquus impius et nihilominus sine
deo, quantauis sit[1] mendacii superfluitas, quam ex
99 ipsa re cognoscere ualde facillimum est. Non enim
circa solos Graecos discordia legum esse dinoscitur,
sed maxime aduersus Aegyptios et plurimos alios.
Quem enim horum non contigit aliquando circa nos
peregrinari, ut aduersus solos <Graecos>[2] renouata
coniuratione per effusionem sanguinis ageremus[3] ?
100 Vel quomodo possibile est ut ad has hostias omnes
Iudaei colligerentur et tantis milibus ad gustandum
uiscera illa sufficerent, sicut ait Apion ? Vel cur
inuentum hominem quicumque fuit, non enim suo
101 nomine conscripsit,[4] aut quomodo eum in suam
patriam rex non cum pompa deduxit, dum posset
hoc faciens ipse quidem putari pius et Graecorum
amator eximius, assumere uero contra Iudaeorum
102 odium solacia magna cunctorum ? Sed haec relinquo ;
insensatos enim non uerbis sed operibus decet
arguere.

Sciunt igitur omnes qui uiderunt constructionem
templi nostri qualis fuerit et intransgressibilem eius
103 purificationis integritatem. Quattuor etenim habuit
in circuitu porticus, et harum singulae propriam
secundum legem habuere custodiam. In exteriorem
itaque ingredi licebat omnibus etiam alienigenis ;
mulieres tantummodo menstruatae transire pro-

[1] quanta iussit MSS.

[2] ins. Hudson.

[3] egeremus MSS. : Reinach would here insert §§ 121-124.

[4] Niese suspects a lacuna.

cruelty of impudence. It does not, for all that, acquit Antiochus of sacrilege, as its obsequious authors imagined. He suspected nothing of the sort when he invaded the temple; the discovery admittedly surprised him. His iniquity, impiety, and godlessness were, therefore, none the less gratuitous, however many lies may be told about him. These reveal their character on their face. Greeks, as is well known, are not the only people with whom our laws come into conflict; those principally so affected are Egyptians and many others. Is there one of these nations whose citizens have not happened at some time or other to visit our country? Why should Greeks be the only objects of our periodically repeated conspiracy and bloodthirsty assault? Again, how is it conceivable that all Jews should assemble to partake of these victims, and that the flesh of one should suffice for so many thousand participants, as Apion asserts? [a] Why in the world after discovering this man, whoever he was (his name is not given in the story), did not the king convey him in triumph to his country, when by so doing he might have gained a reputation for piety and rare devotion to the Greeks, and encountered Jewish hatred with the powerful support of public opinion? But I refrain to pursue these inquiries; fools must be refuted, not by argument, but by facts.

Its ridiculous character.

All who ever saw our temple are aware of the general design of the building, and the inviolable barriers which preserved its sanctity. It had four surrounding courts, each with its special statutory restrictions. The outer court was open to all, foreigners included; women during their impurity

The inviolable laws of the temple ritual.

The temple courts.

[a] Not as reported above.

104 hibebantur. In secundam uero porticum cuncti Iudaei ingrediebantur eorumque coniuges, cum essent ab omni pollutione mundae ; in tertiam masculi Iudaeorum mundi existentes atque purificati ; in quartam autem sacerdotes stolis induti sacerdotalibus ; in adytum uero soli principes sacerdotum
105 propria stola circumamicti. Tanta uero est circa omnia prouidentia pietatis, ut secundum quasdam horas sacerdotes ingredi constitutum sit. Mane etenim aperto templo oportebat facientes traditas hostias introire et meridie rursus, dum clauderetur
106 templum. Denique nec uas aliquod portari licet in templum, sed erant in eo solummodo posita altare mensa turibulum candelabrum, quae omnia et in
107 lege conscripta sunt. Etenim nihil amplius neque mysteriorum aliquorum ineffabilium agitur, neque intus ulla epulatio ministratur. Haec enim quae praedicta sunt habent totius populi testimonium
108 manifestationemque gestorum. Licet enim sint tribus quattuor sacerdotum et harum tribuum singulae habeant hominum plus quam quinque milia, fit tamen obseruatio particulariter per dies certos, et his transactis alii succedentes ad sacrificia ueniunt et congregati in templum mediante die a praecedentibus claues templi et ad numerum omnia uasa percipiunt, nulla re, quae ad cibum aut potum
109 adtineat, in templo delata. Talia namque etiam ad

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[a] Or " the victims delivered to them."

[b] *Cf.* Mark xi. 16. The sequel shows that the Holy Place (the ναός) is intended.

[c] *Cf. B.* v. 216 (where only three objects are named, no altar).

[d] The four priestly clans which returned with Zerubbabel

were alone refused admission. To the second court all Jews were admitted and, when uncontaminated by any defilement, their wives; to the third male Jews, if clean and purified; to the fourth the priests robed in their priestly vestments. The sanctuary was entered only by the high-priests, clad in the raiment peculiar to themselves. So careful is the provision for all the details of the service, that the priests' entry is timed to certain hours. Their duty was to enter in the morning, when the temple was opened, and to offer the customary sacrifices,[a] and again at mid-day, until the temple was closed. One further point: no vessel whatever might be carried into the temple,[b] the only objects in which were an altar, a table, a censer, and a lampstand,[c] all mentioned in the Law. There was nothing more; no unmentionable mysteries took place, no repast was served within the building. The foregoing statements are attested by the whole community, and conclusively proved by the order of procedure. For, although there are four priestly tribes,[d] each comprising upwards of five thousand members, these officiate by rotation for a fixed period of days; when the term of one party ends, others come to offer the sacrifices in their place, and assembling at mid-day in the temple, take over from the outgoing ministers the keys of the building and all its vessels, duly numbered. Nothing of the nature of food or drink is brought within the temple; objects of this kind may not even be offered on

(Ezra ii. 36; Neh. vii. 39). Elsewhere Josephus mentions only the division into twenty-four courses (*Vita*, 2; *cf*. *A*. vii. 365 f.), which was normal from the time of the Chronicler (1 Chron. xxiv. 7) onwards.

altare offerre prohibitum est, praeter illa quae ad sacrificia praeparantur.

Quid ergo Apionem [esse] dicimus nisi nihil horum examinantem uerba incredula protulisse? Sed turpe est; historiae enim ueram notitiam se proferre
110 grammaticus non promisit? At[1] sciens templi nostri pietatem hanc quidem praetermisit, hominis autem Graeci comprehensionem finxit et pabulum ineffabile et ciborum opulentissimam claritatem et seruos ingredientes ubi nec nobilissimos Iudaeorum
111 licet intrare, nisi fuerint sacerdotes. Hoc ergo pessima est impietas atque mendacium spontaneum ad eorum seductionem, qui noluerint discutere ueritatem. Per ea siquidem mala et ineffabilia, quae praedicta sunt, nobis detrahere temptauerunt.

112 (9) Rursumque tamquam piissimus deridet adiciens fabulae suae Mnaseam. Ait enim illum rettulisse, dum bellum Iudaei contra Idumaeos[2] haberent longo quodam tempore, in aliqua ciuitate Idumaeorum,[2] qui Dorii nominantur, quendam eorum qui in ea Apollinem colebat uenisse ad Iudaeos, cuius hominis nomen dicit Zabidon, deinde quia[3] eis promisisset traditurum se eis Apollinem deum Doriensium uenturumque illum ad nostrum templum, si omnes
113 abscederent. Et credidisse omnem multitudinem Iudaeorum; Zabidon uero fecisse quoddam machinamentum ligneum et circumposuisse sibi et in eo tres ordines infixisse lucernarum et ita ambulasse, ut

[1] conj.: et MSS.
[2] Hudson: Iudaeos (-orum) MSS.
[3] Boysen: qui MSS.

[a] *Ap.* i. 216.

the altar, save those which are prepared for the sacrifices.

Are we then left to conclude that Apion put out this incredible story without any investigation of these facts? But that is disgraceful; as a learned doctor, did he not profess to present an accurate historical picture? No; he knew the pious rites of our temple, but passed them over when he concocted this story of a kidnapped Greek, an unmentionable banquet of the richest and most sumptuous fare, and slaves entering precincts to which even the highest Jewish nobles are not admitted, unless they are priests. Here, then, we have rank impiety at its worst, and a gratuitous lie, designed to mislead persons who do not trouble to investigate the facts. For the one aim of the inventors of the unspeakable horrors to which I have alluded is to bring us into odium.

A third ridiculous story: theft of the ass's head by an Idumaean dressed as Apollo.

(9) This model of piety derides us again in a story which he attributes to Mnaseas.[a] The latter, according to Apion, relates that:—

> in the course of a long war between the Jews and the Idumaeans, an inhabitant of an Idumaean city, called Dorii,[b] who worshipped Apollo and bore (so we are told) the name of Zabidus, came out to the Jews and promised to deliver into their hands Apollo, the god of his city, who would visit our temple if they all took their departure. The Jews all believed him; whereupon Zabidus constructed an apparatus of wood, inserted in it three rows of lamps, and put it over his person. Thus arrayed he walked about, presenting the appear-

[b] Dor or Dora on the coast of Palestine, some ten miles north of Caesarea, south of Mt. Carmel.

procul stantibus appareret, quasi stellae per terram[1]
114 τὴν πορείαν ποιουμένων, τοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους ὑπὸ
τοῦ παραδόξου τῆς θέας καταπεπληγμένους πόρρω
μένοντας ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, τὸν δὲ Ζάβιδον ἐπὶ πολλῆς
ἡσυχίας εἰς τὸν ναὸν παρελθεῖν καὶ τὴν χρυσῆν
ἀποσῦραι τοῦ κάνθωνος[2] κεφαλήν, οὕτω γὰρ
ἀστεϊζόμενος γέγραφεν, καὶ πάλιν εἰς Δῶρα[3] τὸ
τάχος ἀπελθεῖν.
115 Ἆρα οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἂν εἴποιμεν ὅτι τὸν κάνθωνα,
τουτέστιν ἑαυτόν, Ἀπίων ἐπιφορτίζει καὶ ποιεῖ
τῆς μωρολογίας ἅμα καὶ τῶν ψευσμάτων κατά-
γομον; καὶ γὰρ τόπους οὐκ ὄντας γράφει καὶ
116 πόλεις οὐκ εἰδὼς μετατίθησιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἰδουμαία
τῆς ἡμετέρας χώρας ἐστὶν ὅμορος, κατὰ Γάζαν
κειμένη, καὶ Δῶρα ταύτης ἐστὶν οὐδεμία πόλις.
τῆς μέντοι Φοινίκης παρὰ τὸ Καρμήλιον ὄρος
Δῶρα πόλις ὀνομάζεται, μηδὲν ἐπικοινωνοῦσα τοῖς
Ἀπίωνος φλυαρήμασι· τεσσάρων γὰρ ἡμερῶν
117 ὁδὸν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας[4] ἀφέστηκεν. τί δ' ἡμῶν ἔτι
κατηγορεῖ τὸ μὴ κοινοὺς ἔχειν τοῖς ἄλλοις θεούς,
εἰ ῥᾳδίως οὕτως ἐπείσθησαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν
ἥξειν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ μετὰ τῶν
ἄστρων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ᾠήθησαν ὁρᾶν αὐτὸν περι-
118 πατοῦντα; λύχνον γὰρ οὐδέπω δῆλον ὅτι πρόσθεν
ἑωράκασιν οἱ τὰς τοσαύτας καὶ τηλικαύτας λυχνο-
καΐας ἐπιτελοῦντες. ἀλλ' οὐδέ τις αὐτῷ βαδίζοντι
κατὰ τὴν χώραν τῶν τοσούτων μυριάδων ὑπήντη-
σεν, ἔρημα δὲ καὶ τὰ τείχη φυλάκων εὗρε πολέμου
119 συνεστηκότος· ἐῶ τἆλλα. τοῦ ναοῦ δ' αἱ θύραι
τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἦσαν ἑξήκοντα πηχῶν, εἴκοσι δὲ τὸ

[1] End of lacuna in L.
[2] Hudson : ἀκανθῶνος L (and so below).

ance to distant onlookers of stars perambulating the earth. Astounded at this amazing spectacle, the Jews kept their distance, in perfect silence. Meanwhile, Zabidus stealthily passed into the sanctuary, snatched up the golden head of the pack-ass (as he facetiously calls it), and made off post-haste to Dora.

May we not, on our side, suggest that Apion is overloading the pack-ass, that is to say himself, with a crushing pack of nonsense and lies? He writes of places which do not exist, and shifts the position on the map of cities of which he knows nothing. Idumaea, in the latitude of Gaza, is conterminous with our territory. It has no city called Dora. There *is* a town of that name in Phoenicia, near Mount Carmel, but that has nothing in common with Apion's ridiculous story, being at a distance of four days' march from Idumaea. Again, how can he continue to accuse us of not having the same gods as the rest of the world, if our forefathers were so easily induced to believe that Apollo would visit them, and imagined that they saw him walking with a train of stars upon the earth? Obviously they had never before seen a lamp, these people whose festivals are such a blaze of illumination! [a] Not one of all those myriads encountered him as he paraded the country! He found the walls unguarded in war-time! I refrain from further comment, merely remarking that the gates of the sanctuary were sixty

[a] In particular the Feast of Tabernacles (see the vivid description of the all-night illumination in the Mishnah, *Sukkah*, v. 2-4) and the Feast of Dedication, popularly known as the "Feast of Lights," *A*. xii. 325. *Cf*. § 282 below.

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[3] So Lat.: Δῶριν L. [4] Niese: Ἰουδαίας L.

πλάτος, κατάχρυσοι δὲ πᾶσαι καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν
σφυρήλατοι· ταύτας ἔκλειον οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντες
ἄνδρες διακόσιοι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ
120 καταλιπεῖν ἠνοιγμένας ἦν ἀθέμιτον. ῥᾳδίως οὖν
αὐτὰς ὁ λυχνοφόρος ἐκεῖνος ἀνέῳξεν, οἶμαι, μόνος[1]
καὶ τὴν τοῦ κάνθωνος ᾤχετο[1] κεφαλὴν ἔχων.
πότερον οὖν αὐτὴν πάλιν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀνέστρεψεν ἢ
λαβὼν Ἀπιὼν αὐτὴν εἰσεκόμισεν, ἵνα Ἀντίοχος
εὕρῃ πρὸς δευτέραν Ἀπίωνι μυθολογίαν;
121 (10) Καταψεύδεται δὲ[2] καὶ ὅρκον ἡμῶν ὡς ὀμνυόν-
των τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν
γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδενὶ εὐνοήσειν ἀλλοφύλῳ,
122 μάλιστα δὲ Ἕλλησιν. ἔδει δὲ καταψευδόμενον
ἅπαξ εἰπεῖν μηδενὶ εὐνοήσειν ἀλλοφύλῳ, μάλιστα
δ' Αἰγυπτίοις· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ
πλάσμασιν ἥρμοττεν τὰ περὶ τὸν ὅρκον, εἴπερ
ἦσαν ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων τῶν συγγενῶν οἱ πατέρες
ἡμῶν οὐχὶ διὰ πονηρίαν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς
123 ἐξεληλασμένοι. τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲ πλέον τοῖς
τόποις ἢ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἀφεστήκαμεν, ὥστε
μηδεμίαν ἡμῖν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχθραν μηδὲ
ζηλοτυπίαν. τοὐναντίον μέντοι πολλοὶ παρ' αὐτῶν
εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους νόμους συνέβησαν εἰσελθεῖν,
καί τινες μὲν ἐνέμειναν, εἰσὶ δ' οἳ τὴν καρτερίαν
124 οὐχ ὑπομείναντες πάλιν ἀπέστησαν. καὶ τούτων[3]

[1] Text emended by Niese.
[2] *ed. pr.*: καταψεύσασθαί τινα L.
[3] τοῦτον L (corrector's hand) Lat.

[a] The dimensions given in *B.* v. 202 are 30 × 15 cubits.
[b] Or perhaps "all overlaid with gold, almost of the solidity of hammered gold plates."
[c] In *B.* vi. 293 we are told that it took *twenty* men to close the east gate of the inner court. Hudson, accordingly,

cubits high and twenty broad,[a] all gilded and almost entirely covered with plates of wrought gold[b]; it took no fewer than 200[c] men to close them every day, and it was forbidden to leave them open. Our lamp-carrier, I presume, had no difficulty in opening them by himself and making off with the pack-ass's head. But did he return it to us, or was it Apion who recovered and reinstated it in the temple for Antiochus to find, in order to provide him with a second good story?

(10) Then[d] he attributes to us an imaginary oath, and would have it appear that we swear by the God who made heaven and earth and sea to show no goodwill to a single alien, above all to Greeks. Having once started false accusations, he should have said, "show no goodwill to a single alien, above all to Egyptians"; for then this reference to the oath would have been in keeping with his original fiction, if, as we are given to understand, the cause of the expulsion of our forefathers by their Egyptian "kinsmen" was not their malice, but their misfortunes. From the Greeks we are severed more by our geographical position than by our institutions, with the result that we neither hate nor envy them. On the contrary, many of them have agreed to adopt our laws; of whom some have remained faithful, while others, lacking the necessary endurance, have again seceded.[e] Of these not one has ever said that

Alleged Jewish oath of hostility to Greeks, etc.

corrects the figure here to twenty; but Josephus may mean that separate gangs of twenty men each were employed to close the ten gates of the temple.

[d] Reinach transfers this paragraph (§§ 121-124), which opens abruptly, to the end of § 99 above, where it seems more in place. *Cf.* Tac. *Hist.* v. 5, "adversus omnes alios hostile odium."

[e] *Cf.* §§ 280 ff. below.

οὐδεὶς πώποτε τὸν ὅρκον εἶπεν ἀκοῦσαι παρ' ἡμῖν
ὠμοσμένον,[1] ἀλλὰ μόνος Ἀπίων, ὡς ἔοικεν,
ἤκουσεν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ συνθεὶς αὐτὸν ἦν.
125 (11) Σφόδρα τοίνυν τῆς πολλῆς συνέσεως[2] καὶ ἐπὶ
τῷ μέλλοντι ῥηθήσεσθαι θαυμάζειν ἄξιόν ἐστιν
Ἀπίωνα. τεκμήριον γὰρ εἶναί φησιν τοῦ μήτε
νόμοις ἡμᾶς χρῆσθαι δικαίοις μήτε τὸν θεὸν
εὐσεβεῖν ὡς προσῆκεν [τὸ μὴ ἄρχειν],[3] δουλεύειν
δὲ μᾶλλον ἔθνεσιν [καὶ] ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις καὶ τὸ
κεχρῆσθαι συμφοραῖς τισι περὶ τὴν πόλιν, αὐτῶν[4]
δῆλον ὅτι πόλεως ἡγεμονικωτάτης ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν
ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ μὴ Ῥωμαίοις[5] δουλεύειν συνειθισμέ-
126 νων. καίτοι τούτων ἄν τις ἀνάσχοιτο[6] τοιαύτης
μεγαλαυχίας.[7] τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις
ἀνθρώπων οὐχ ἱκανῶς καθ' αὑτοῦ φαίη τοῦτον
127 ὑπ' Ἀπίωνος λελέχθαι τὸν λόγον· ὀλίγοις μὲν γὰρ
ὑπῆρξεν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας διὰ καιροπτίας γενέσθαι,
καὶ τούτους αἱ μεταβολαὶ πάλιν ἄλλοις δουλεύειν
ὑπέζευξαν, τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ φῦλον ἄλλων ὑπακήκοεν
128 πολλάκις. Αἰγύπτιοι δ' ἄρα μόνοι διὰ τὸ κατα-
φυγεῖν, ὥς φασιν, εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν τοὺς θεοὺς
καὶ σωθῆναι μεταβαλόντας εἰς μορφὰς θηρίων
ἐξαίρετον γέρας εὕροντο τὸ μηδενὶ δουλεῦσαι τῶν
τῆς Ἀσίας ἢ τῆς Εὐρώπης κρατησάντων, οἱ μίαν
ἡμέραν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἐλευθερίας οὐ
τυχόντες, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν οἰκοδεσποτῶν.
129 ὅντινα μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσαντο Πέρσαι τρόπον,
οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις πορθοῦντες τὰς

[1] ὁμωσμένον L.
[2] *ed. pr.*: συνθέσεως L.
[3] ins. *ed. pr.*
[4] *ed. pr.*: αὐτοὶ L.
[5] So *ed. pr.*: in L Ῥωμαίοις is placed before ἐκ.
[6] Niese: ἀπόσχοιτο L (= perhaps "Even a Roman would refrain from so lofty a claim").

he had heard the oath in question pronounced by any of us. Apion is apparently the only man who has heard it, for the good reason that he invented it.

(11) In the argument to which I now proceed Apion's extraordinary sagacity is most astonishing. A clear proof, according to him, that our laws are unjust and our religious ceremonies erroneous is that we are not masters of an empire, but rather the slaves, first of one nation, then of another, and that calamity has more than once befallen our city. As if his fellow-countrymen from time immemorial had been the masters of a sovereign state, and had never known what it was to serve the Romans! On Roman lips such a lofty claim might be tolerated. For the rest of the world, there is not a man who would not admit that this argument of Apion closely touches himself. It has been the lot of few, by waiting on opportunity, to gain an empire, and even they have, through the vicissitudes of fortune, been reduced once more to servitude beneath a foreign yoke; most races have frequently had to submit to others. The Egyptians alone, so it seems, because the gods, according to their account, took refuge in their country and saved themselves by assuming the forms of wild animals,[a] gained the exceptional privilege of never being the slaves of any of the conquerors of Asia or Europe—the Egyptians, who have never, since the world began, had a day of liberty, even from their domestic masters! For the rough handling which they received from the Persians, who not once but on many occasions sacked

Anti-Semitic argument drawn from Jewish misfortunes.

[a] *Cf.* Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 321-331.

[7] Niese: μεγαλοψυχίας L.

πόλεις, ἱερὰ κατασκάπτοντες, τοὺς παρ᾿ αὐτοῖς νομιζομένους θεοὺς κατασφάζοντες, οὐκ ἂν ὀνειδί-
130 σαιμι· μιμεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐ προσῆκεν τὴν Ἀπίωνος ἀπαιδευσίαν, ὃς οὔτε τὰς Ἀθηναίων τύχας οὔτε τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐνενόησεν, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρειοτάτους εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ εὐσεβεστάτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων
131 ἅπαντες λέγουσιν. ἐῶ βασιλέας τοὺς ἐπ᾿ εὐσεβείᾳ διαβοηθέντας [ὧν ἕνα Κροῖσον],[1] οἵαις ἐχρήσαντο συμφοραῖς βίου. ἐῶ τὴν καταπρησθεῖσαν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ναόν, τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἄλλους μυρίους, καὶ οὐδεὶς ὠνείδισεν
132 ταῦτα τοῖς παθοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς δράσασιν. καινὸς δὲ κατήγορος ἡμῶν Ἀπίων ηὑρέθη τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κακῶν ἐκλαθόμενος, ἀλλὰ Σέσωστρις αὐτὸν ὁ μυθευόμενος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἐτύφλωσεν.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἡμετέρους οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμεν βασιλέας, Δαυίδην καὶ Σολομῶνα, πολλὰ χειρωσα-
133 μένους ἔθνη; τούτους μὲν οὖν παραλίπωμεν· τὰ δὲ γνώριμα πᾶσιν Ἀπίων ἠγνόηκεν, ὅτι Περσῶν καὶ μετ᾿ ἐκείνους ἡγουμένων τῆς Ἀσίας Μακεδόνων Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν ἐδούλευον ἀνδραπόδων οὐδὲν
134 διαφέροντες, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι προσέτι καὶ τῶν πέριξ πόλεων ἤρχομεν ἔτη σχεδὸν εἴκοσί που καὶ ρʹ μέχρι Μάγνου Πομπηίου. καὶ πάντων ἐκπολεμηθέντων πρὸς Ῥωμαίων[2] τῶν πανταχοῦ

[1] Perhaps a gloss.
[2] ἐκπολεμωθέντων πρὸς Ῥωμαίους Niese.

[a] *Cf.* Acts xvii. 22 (quoted in the margin of the ms.).
[b] By Xerxes, Herod. viii. 53.
[c] The temple of Artemis, burnt down by Herostratus on the night, as was said, of Alexander's birth, 356 B.C.

their cities, razed their temples, and slaughtered the creatures they took for gods, I will not reproach them. I must not imitate the ignorance of Apion, who never thought of the misfortunes of the Athenians or the Lacedaemonians, the latter, by common consent, the bravest, the former the most pious,[a] of the Greeks. I pass over the calamities in the lives of monarchs (like Croesus) renowned for piety. I pass over the burning of the acropolis of Athens,[b] the temple of Ephesus,[c] that of Delphi,[d] and myriads more; no one ever reproached the victims, rather than the perpetrators, for these atrocities. It was left for Apion to bring this novel type of accusation against us, quite forgetting the disasters of his own Egypt. Its mythical king Sesostris has doubtless blinded him.[e]

For our part, might we not quote our kings, David and Solomon, who subjugated many nations? But let us pass them over and merely refer to a notorious fact, ignored by Apion: that is, that the Egyptians were the slaves and veritable menials, first of the Persians, and then of the Macedonians, the next rulers of Asia; while we were not merely independent, but had dominion over the surrounding states for about 120 years [f] up to the time of Pompey the Great. And when war had been declared by the Romans on all the monarchs in the world, our kings

[d] The older temple was *accidentally* burnt down c. 548–547 B.C.; Josephus refers to some later occasion of incendiarism.

[e] Both Sesostris and his son (Herod. ii. 111) are said to have been struck blind.

[f] A slightly exaggerated estimate of the period from the Maccabaean insurrection to Pompey's entry into Jerusalem (168–63 B.C.); eighty years, from c. 143 B.C. (1 Macc. xiii. 41), would have been more accurate.

βασιλέων μόνοι διὰ πίστιν οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν σύμμαχοι καὶ φίλοι διεφυλάχθησαν.

135 (12) Ἀλλὰ θαυμαστοὺς ἄνδρας οὐ παρεσχήκαμεν, οἷον τεχνῶν τινων εὑρετὰς ἢ σοφίᾳ διαφέροντας. καὶ καταριθμεῖ Σωκράτην καὶ Ζήνωνα καὶ Κλεάνθην καὶ τοιούτους τινάς. εἶτα τὸ θαυμασιώτατον τοῖς εἰρημένοις[1] αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν προστίθησι καὶ μακαρίζει τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἔχει
136 πολίτην[, ὀρθῶς ποιῶν]·[2] ἔδει γὰρ αὐτῷ μάρτυρος ἑαυτοῦ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὀχλαγωγὸς ἐδόκει πονηρὸς εἶναι, καὶ τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ διεφθαρμένος, ὥστε εἰκότως ἐλεῆσαι τις ἂν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, εἴπερ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα ἐφρόνει. περὶ δὲ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνδρῶν γεγονότων οὐδενὸς ἧττον ἐπαίνου τυγχάνειν ἀξίων ἴσασιν οἱ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀρχαιολογίαις ἐντυγχάνοντες.

137 (13) Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ γεγραμμένων ἄξιον ἦν ἴσως ἀναπολόγητα παραλιπεῖν, ἵν' αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων ᾖ ὁ κατηγορῶν. ἐγκαλεῖ γὰρ ὅτι ζῷα θύομεν ἥμερα[3] καὶ χοῖρον οὐκ ἐσθίομεν, καὶ τὴν τῶν αἰδοίων χλευάζει περι-
138 τομήν. τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς τῶν ἡμέρων[4] ζῴων ἀναιρέσεως κοινόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἅπαντας, Ἀπίων δὲ τοῖς θύουσιν ἐγκαλῶν αὐτὸν ἐξήλεγξεν ὄντα τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν Ἕλλην ὢν ἢ Μακεδὼν ἐχαλέπαινεν. οὗτοι γὰρ εὔχονται θύειν ἑκατόμβας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ χρῶνται τοῖς ἱερείοις πρὸς εὐωχίαν, καὶ οὐ διὰ τοῦτο συμβέβηκεν ἐρημοῦσθαι τὸν κόσμον τῶν βοσκη-

[1] Niese (after Lat.): τῶν εἰρημένων L.
[2] Niese (after Lat.): om. L.
[3] Ins. Niese (after Lat.).

alone, by reason of their fidelity, remained their allies and friends.

Argument that Jews have produced no men of genius.

(12) "But" (urges Apion) we "have not produced any geniuses, for example, inventors in arts and crafts or eminent sages."[a] He enumerates Socrates, Zeno, Cleanthes,[b] and others of that calibre; and then—most astounding master-stroke—adds his own name to the list, and felicitates Alexandria on possessing such a citizen! Indeed he needed this testimonial from himself; for the rest of the world took him for a low charlatan, whose life was as dissolute as his language, insomuch that Alexandria might fairly be pitied if she prided herself upon *him*. Our own famous men, who are entitled to rank with the highest, are familiar to readers of my *Antiquities*.

Other indictments: animal sacrifices, abstention from pork, circumcision.

(13) The remaining counts in his indictment had better perhaps have remained unanswered, so that Apion might be left to act as his own and his countrymen's accuser. He denounces us for sacrificing domestic animals and for not eating pork, and he derides the practice of circumcision. Well, the custom of slaughtering domestic animals we share with the rest of mankind; and Apion, by criticizing those who practise it, betrays his Egyptian birth. No Greek or Macedonian would have been moved to indignation. Their nations, indeed, vow sacrifices of hecatombs to the gods,[c] and make a feast off the victims; yet this has not had the result, apprehended by Apion, of leav-

[a] A charge repeated by Apollonius Molon, § 148 below.

[b] Cleanthes in 263 B.C. succeeded Zeno as head of the Stoic school, founded by the latter.

[c] *Cf.* Hom. *Od.* xvii. 50.

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[4] *ed. pr.*: ἡμετέρων L Lat.

139 μάτων, ὅπερ Ἀπίων ἔδεισεν. εἰ μέντοι τοῖς
Αἰγυπτίων ἔθεσιν ἠκολούθουν ἅπαντες, ἠρήμωτο
μὲν ἂν ὁ κόσμος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἀγριωτάτων
δὲ θηρίων ἐπληθύνθη, ἃ θεοὺς οὗτοι νομίζοντες
140 ἐπιμελῶς ἐκτρέφουσιν. καὶ μὴν εἴ τις αὐτὸν
ἤρετο, τῶν πάντων Αἰγυπτίων τίνας εἶναι καὶ
σοφωτάτους καὶ θεοσεβεῖς νομίζει, πάντως ἂν
141 ὡμολόγησε τοὺς ἱερεῖς· δύο γὰρ αὐτούς φασιν ὑπὸ
τῶν βασιλέων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα προστετάχθαι, τήν
τε τῶν θεῶν θεραπείαν καὶ τῆς σοφίας τὴν ἐπι-
μέλειαν. ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν ἅπαντες καὶ περιτέμνονται
καὶ χοιρείων ἀπέχονται βρωμάτων· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ
τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων οὐδὲ εἷς ὗν θύει[1] τοῖς θεοῖς.
142 ἆρ᾽ οὖν τυφλὸς ἦν τὸν νοῦν Ἀπίων ὑπὲρ Αἰγυπτίων
ἡμᾶς λοιδορεῖν συνθέμενος, ἐκείνων δὲ κατηγορῶν,
οἵ γε μὴ μόνον χρῶνται τοῖς ὑπὸ τούτου λοιδο-
ρουμένοις ἔθεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδαξαν
περιτέμνεσθαι, καθάπερ εἴρηκεν Ἡρόδοτος;
143 Ὅθεν εἰκότως μοι δοκεῖ τῆς εἰς τοὺς πατρίους
αὐτοῦ νόμους βλασφημίας δοῦναι δίκην Ἀπίων
τὴν πρέπουσαν· περιετμήθη γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης,
ἑλκώσεως αὐτῷ περὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον γενομένης, καὶ
μηδὲν ὠφεληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς περιτομῆς ἀλλὰ σηπό-
144 μενος ἐν δειναῖς ὀδύναις ἀπέθανεν. δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς
εὖ φρονοῦντας τοῖς μὲν οἰκείοις νόμοις περὶ τὴν
εὐσέβειαν ἀκριβῶς ἐμμένειν, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων
μὴ λοιδορεῖν. ὁ δὲ τούτους μὲν ἔφυγεν, τῶν
ἡμετέρων δὲ κατεψεύσατο. τοῦτο μὲν Ἀπίωνι
τοῦ βίου τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο, καὶ τοῦτο παρ᾽ ἡμῶν
ἐνταῦθα τὸ πέρας ἔστω τοῦ λόγου.

[1] ὗν θύει Niese: συνθύει L Lat.

ing the world without cattle. If, on the other hand, mankind had adopted Egyptian customs, the world would have been left without human beings, and been overrun with those wildest of beasts, which they sedulously rear in the belief that they are gods. Again, had Apion been asked who, in his opinion, were the wisest and most god-fearing of all the Egyptians, he would undoubtedly have made the admission, " the priests "; for they, as is said, originally received two commissions from royalty: divine worship and the charge of learning. But all those priests are circumcised, and all abstain from swine's flesh.[a] Even among the rest of the Egyptians there is not a man who sacrifices a pig to the gods. Was, then, Apion's mind blinded when, in the interest of the Egyptians, he undertook to revile us and actually condemned them? For not only do they practise the customs which he abuses, but, as Herodotus has informed us,[b] they have taught others to adopt circumcision.

I cannot, therefore, but regard the penalty which Apion's end. Apion paid for maligning his country's laws as just and appropriate. An ulcer on his person rendered circumcision essential; the operation brought no relief, gangrene set in, and he died in terrible tortures. A wise man's duty is to be scrupulously faithful to the religious laws of his country, and to refrain from abuse of those of others. Apion was a defaulter to his country's laws and told lies about ours. Such was his end, and here let me bring my remarks [upon him] to a close.

[a] On the Egyptians' practice of circumcision see Herod ii. 37, 104; on their abstinence from pork, except on certain occasions, *ib.* ii. 47.

[b] Herod. ii. 104 (quoted in *Ap.* i. 169).

145 (14) Ἐπεὶ δὲ[1] καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Μόλων καὶ Λυσί-
μαχος καί τινες ἄλλοι τὰ μὲν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, τὸ
πλεῖστον δὲ κατὰ δυσμένειαν, περί τε τοῦ νομο-
θετήσαντος ἡμῖν Μωσέως καὶ περὶ τῶν νόμων
πεποίηνται λόγους οὔτε δικαίους οὔτε ἀληθεῖς, τὸν
μὲν ὡς γόητα καὶ ἀπατεῶνα διαβάλλοντες, τοὺς
νόμους δὲ κακίας ἡμῖν καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρετῆς φά-
σκοντες εἶναι διδασκάλους, βούλομαι συντόμως καὶ
περὶ τῆς ὅλης ἡμῶν καταστάσεως τοῦ πολιτεύ-
ματος καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος, ὡς ἂν ὦ δυνατός,
146 εἰπεῖν. οἶμαι γὰρ ἔσεσθαι φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ πρὸς
εὐσέβειαν καὶ πρὸς κοινωνίαν τὴν μετ' ἀλλήλων καὶ
πρὸς τὴν καθόλου φιλανθρωπίαν, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς
δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πόνοις καρτερίαν καὶ
θανάτου περιφρόνησιν ἄριστα κειμένους ἔχομεν
147 τοὺς νόμους. παρακαλῶ δὲ τοὺς ἐντευξομένους
τῇ γραφῇ μὴ μετὰ φθόνου ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν·
οὐ γὰρ ἐγκώμιον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν προειλόμην συγ-
γράφειν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ ψευδῆ κατηγορουμένοις
ἡμῖν ταύτην ἀπολογίαν δικαιοτάτην εἶναι νομίζω
τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων, καθ' οὓς ζῶντες διατελοῦμεν.
148 ἄλλως τε καὶ τὴν κατηγορίαν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος οὐκ
ἀθρόαν ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀπίων ἔταξεν, ἀλλὰ σποράδην
καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς συγγραφῆς[2] ποτὲ μὲν ὡς ἀθέους
καὶ μισανθρώπους λοιδορεῖ, ποτὲ δ' αὖ δειλίαν
ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζει, καὶ τοὔμπαλιν ἔστιν ὅπου τόλμαν
κατηγορεῖ καὶ ἀπόνοιαν. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἀφυεστά-
τους εἶναι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν εἰς
149 τὸν βίον εὕρημα συμβεβλῆσθαι μόνους. ταῦτα δὲ
πάντα διελεγχθήσεσθαι νομίζω σαφῶς, εἰ τἀναντία

(v.) Proposed method of refuting Molon, etc., by an account of the Jewish constitution.

(14) Seeing, however, that Apollonius Molon, Lysimachus, and others, partly from ignorance, mainly from ill will, have made reflections, which are neither just nor true, upon our lawgiver Moses and his code, maligning the one as a charlatan and impostor, and asserting that from the other we receive lessons in vice and none in virtue, I desire to give, to the best of my ability, a brief account of our constitution as a whole and of its details. From this, I think, it will be apparent that we possess a code excellently designed to promote piety, friendly relations with each other, and humanity towards the world at large, besides justice, hardihood, and contempt of death. And I beg any into whose hands these pages may fall to read them without bias.[a] My object is not to compose a panegyric upon our nation; but I consider that, in reply to the numerous false accusations which are brought against us, the fairest defence which we can offer is to be found in the laws which govern our daily life. I adopt this line the more readily because Apollonius, unlike Apion, has not grouped his accusations together, but scattered them here and there all over his work, reviling us in one place as atheists and misanthropes, in another reproaching us as cowards, whereas elsewhere, on the contrary, he accuses us of temerity and reckless madness. He adds that we are the most witless of all barbarians, and are consequently the only people who have contributed no useful invention to civilization. All this tirade will, I think, be clearly refuted, if it be shown that the precepts

[a] Or "jealousy."

[1] *ἐπεὶ δὲ* Dindorf after Lat.: *ἐπειδὴ* L.

[2] *διὰ . . συγγραφῆς ed. pr.*: *δὴ εἴπας* L. Text doubtful.

τῶν εἰρημένων φανείη καὶ διὰ τῶν νόμων ἡμῖν προστεταγμένα καὶ πραττόμενα μετὰ πάσης ἀκρι-
150 βείας ὑφ' ἡμῶν. εἰ δ' ἄρα βιασθείην μνησθῆναι τῶν παρ' ἑτέροις ὑπεναντίως[1] νενομισμένων, τούτου δίκαιοι τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχειν εἰσὶν οἱ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν ὡς χείρω παραβάλλειν ἀξιοῦντες. οἷς οὐδέτερον ἀπολειφθήσεσθαι νομίζω λέγειν, οὔθ' ὡς οὐχὶ τούτους ἔχομεν τοὺς νόμους, ὧν ἐγὼ παραθήσομαι τοὺς κεφαλαιωδεστάτους, οὔθ' ὡς οὐχὶ μάλιστα πάντων ἐμμένομεν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν νόμοις.

151 (15) Μικρὸν οὖν ἀναλαβὼν τὸν λόγον τοῦτ' ἂν εἴποιμι πρῶτον, ὅτι τῶν ἀνόμως καὶ ἀτάκτως βιούντων οἱ τάξεως καὶ νόμου κοινωνίας ἐπιθυμηταὶ γενόμενοι καὶ πρῶτοι κατάρξαντες εἰκότως ἂν ἡμερότητι
152 καὶ φύσεως ἀρετῇ διενεγκεῖν μαρτυρηθεῖεν. ἀμέλει πειρῶνται τὰ παρ' αὑτοῖς ἕκαστοι πρὸς τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἀνάγειν, ἵνα μὴ[2] μιμεῖσθαι δόξωσιν ἑτέρους, ἀλλ'[3] αὐτοὶ τοῦ ζῆν νομίμως ἄλλοις ὑφηγήσασθαι.
153 τούτων δὲ τοῦτον ἐχόντων τὸν τρόπον, ἀρετὴ μέν ἐστι νομοθέτου τὰ βέλτιστα συνιδεῖν καὶ πεῖσαι τοὺς χρησομένους περὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιθεμένων, πλήθους δὲ τὸ πᾶσι τοῖς δόξασιν ἐμμεῖναι καὶ μήτε εὐτυχίαις μήτε συμφοραῖς αὐτῶν μηδὲν μεταβάλλειν.
154 Φημὶ τοίνυν τὸν ἡμέτερον νομοθέτην τῶν ὁπουδηποτοῦν μνημονευομένων νομοθετῶν προάγειν ἀρχαιότητι. Λυκοῦργοι γὰρ καὶ Σόλωνες καὶ Ζάλευκος ὁ τῶν Λοκρῶν καὶ πάντες οἱ θαυμαζό-

[1] *ed. pr.*: ὑπεναντίων L Lat.
[2] *ed. pr.*: om. L Lat.
[3] *ed. pr.*: + οὐκ L Lat.

of our laws, punctiliously practised in our lives, are in direct conflict with the above description. If I may be forced to allude to legislation of a contrary nature in vogue elsewhere, the blame must rest with those who claim that our laws are, by comparison, inferior to their own. These critics will, I think, have no excuse in future for denying either that we possess these laws, the most salient of which I propose to cite, or that we are the most law-abiding of all the nations.

(15) Resuming, then, after this slight digression, I would begin with the remark that persons who have espoused the cause of order and law—one law for all—and been the first to introduce them, may fairly be admitted to be more civilized and virtuously disposed than those who lead lawless and disorderly lives. In fact, each nation endeavours to trace its own institutions back to the remotest date, in order to create the impression that, far from imitating others, it has been the one to set its neighbours an example of orderly life under law. That being so, the virtue of a legislator is to have insight to see what is best, and to win over to the laws which he introduces those who are to live under them; the virtue of the masses is loyally to abide by the laws adopted and, in prosperity or in adversity, to make no change in them. Law *versus* lawlessness.

Now, I maintain that our legislator is the most ancient of all legislators in the records of the whole world. Compared with him, your Lycurguses and Solons, and Zaleucus, who gave the Locrians their laws, and all who are held in such high esteem by Moses the most ancient of legislators. c. 800 B.C. 638-558 B.C. c. 660 B.C.

μενοι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐχθὲς[1] δὴ καὶ πρῴην ὡς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον παραβαλλόμενοι φαίνονται γεγονότες, ὅπου γε μηδ' αὐτὸ τοὔνομα πάλαι ἐγιγνώσκετο
155 τοῦ νόμου παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι. καὶ μάρτυς Ὅμηρος οὐδαμοῦ τῆς ποιήσεως αὐτῷ χρησάμενος. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν κατὰ τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ γνώμαις ἀορίστοις τὰ πλήθη διῳκεῖτο καὶ προστάγμασι τῶν βασιλέων· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμειναν ἔθεσιν ἀγράφοις χρώμενοι καὶ πολλὰ τούτων ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ συν-
156 τυγχάνον μετατιθέντες. ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἀρχαιότατος γεγονώς, τοῦτο γὰρ δήπουθεν ὁμολογεῖται καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάντα καθ' ἡμῶν λέγουσιν, ἑαυτόν τε παρέσχεν ἄριστον τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἡγεμόνα καὶ σύμβουλον, τήν τε κατασκευὴν αὐτοῖς ὅλην τοῦ βίου τῷ νόμῳ περιλαβὼν[2] ἔπεισεν παραδέξασθαι καὶ βεβαιοτάτην εἰς ἀεὶ[3] φυλαχθῆναι παρεσκεύασεν.

157 (16) Ἴδωμεν δὲ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον μεγαλεῖον. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν, ἐπείπερ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐκλιποῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πάτριον γῆν ἐπανιέναι, πολλὰς τὰς μυριάδας παραλαβὼν ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ ἀμηχάνων διέσωσεν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν· καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἄνυδρον αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλὴν ψάμμον ἔδει διοδοιπορῆσαι καὶ νικῆσαι πολεμίους[4] καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ λείαν ὁμοῦ σώζειν
158 μαχομένους. ἐν οἷς ἅπασι καὶ στρατηγὸς ἄριστος ἐγένετο καὶ σύμβουλος συνετώτατος καὶ πάντων κηδεμὼν ἀληθέστατος. ἅπαν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνηρτῆσθαι παρεσκεύασεν, καὶ περὶ παντὸς

[1] ὡς ἐχθὲς L.
[2] Bekker: παραλαβὼν L.
[3] εἰς ἀεὶ Bekker: ἴσασι L.
[4] Niese: πολέμους L Lat.

the Greeks appear to have been born but yesterday. Why, the very word " law " was unknown in ancient Greece. Witness Homer, who nowhere employs it in his poems.[a] In fact, there was no such thing in his day ; the masses were governed by maxims not clearly defined and by the orders of royalty, and continued long afterwards the use of unwritten customs, many of which were from time to time altered to suit particular circumstances. On the other hand, our legislator, who lived in the remotest past (that, I presume, is admitted even by our most unscrupulous detractors),[b] proved himself the people's best guide and counsellor ; and after framing a code to embrace the whole conduct of their life, induced them to accept it, and secured, on the firmest footing, its observance for all time.

(16) Let us consider his first magnificent achievement. When our ancestors decided to leave Egypt and return to their native land, it was he who took command of all those myriads and brought them safely through a host of formidable difficulties. For they had to traverse a vast, waterless and sandy desert, to defeat their enemies, and to protect their wives, their children and their chattels while engaged in battle. Throughout all this he proved the best of generals, the sagest of counsellors, and the most conscientious of guardians. He succeeded in making the whole people dependent upon himself, and,

The work of Moses as general and as religious educator.

[a] The word νόμος appears first in Hesiod ; older terms were θέμιστες (Homer) and θεσμοί, " ordinances."

[b] Apion, however, brought his date down to the eighth century (§ 17).

ἔχων πεισθέντας [ἀντὶ τοῦ κελευσθέντος][1] εἰς
οὐδεμίαν οἰκείαν ἔλαβεν ταῦτα πλεονεξίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν
ᾧ μάλιστα τοῦ καιροῦ δυνάμεις μὲν αὑτοῖς περι-
βάλλονται καὶ τυραννίδας οἱ προεστηκότες, ἐθίζουσι
159 δὲ τὰ πλήθη μετὰ πολλῆς <ζῆν>[2] ἀνομίας, ἐν
τούτῳ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκεῖνος καθεστηκὼς τοὐναντίον
ᾠήθη δεῖν εὐσεβεῖν καὶ πολλὴν εὐνομίαν[3] τοῖς
λαοῖς ἐμπαρασχεῖν, οὕτως αὐτός τε τὰ μάλιστα
τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείξειν τὴν αὑτοῦ νομίζων καὶ
σωτηρίαν τοῖς αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνα πεποιημένοις βεβαιο-
160 τάτην παρέξειν. καλῆς οὖν αὐτῷ προαιρέσεως[4]
καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ἐπιτυγχανομένων εἰκότως
ἐνόμιζεν ἡγεμόνα τε καὶ σύμβουλον θεὸν[5] ἔχειν,
καὶ πείσας πρότερον ἑαυτὸν ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου
βούλησιν ἅπαντα πράττει καὶ διανοεῖται, ταύτην
ᾤετο δεῖν πρὸ παντὸς ἐμποιῆσαι τὴν ὑπόληψιν τοῖς
πλήθεσιν· οἱ γὰρ πιστεύσαντες ἐπισκοπεῖν θεὸν
τοὺς ἑαυτῶν βίους οὐθὲν ἀνέχονται ἐξαμαρτεῖν.
161 τοιοῦτος μὲν δή τις [αὐτὸς][6] ἡμῶν ὁ νομοθέτης,
οὐ γόης οὐδ' ἀπατεών, ἅπερ λοιδοροῦντες λέγουσιν
ἀδίκως, ἀλλ' οἷον παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν αὐχοῦσιν
τὸν Μίνω γεγονέναι καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν[7] τοὺς ἄλλους
162 νομοθέτας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τοὺς νόμους ὑπο-
τίθενται †Διί, οἱ δ' εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὸ Δελφικὸν
αὐτοῦ μαντεῖον†[8] ἀνέφερον, ἤτοι τἀληθὲς οὕτως
ἔχειν νομίζοντες ἢ πείσειν ῥᾷον ὑπολαμβάνοντες.
163 τίς δ' ἦν ὁ μάλιστα κατορθώσας τοὺς νόμους καὶ
τῆς δικαιοτάτης[9] περὶ θεοῦ πίστεως ἐπιτυχών,

[1] Om. Lat.: αὐτοὺς τοῦ κελ. *ed. pr.*
[2] Niese after Hudson with Lat.: om. L.
[3] Niese (*cf. B.* i. 403): εὔνοιαν L.
[4] Text doubtful.
[5] Lat.: θεῖον L.
[6] Om. Lat.

having secured their obedience in all things, he did not use his influence for any personal aggrandizement. No; at the very moment when leading men assume absolute and despotic power and accustom their subjects to a life of extreme lawlessness, he, on the contrary, having reached that commanding position, considered it incumbent on him to live piously and to provide for his people an abundance of good laws, in the belief that this was the best means of displaying his own virtue and of ensuring the lasting welfare of those who had made him their leader. With such noble aspirations and such a record of successful achievements, he had good reason for thinking that he had God for his guide and counsellor. Having first persuaded himself that God's will governed all his actions and all his thoughts, he regarded it as his primary duty to impress that idea upon the community; for to those who believe that their lives are under the eye of God all sin is intolerable. Such was our legislator; no charlatan or impostor, as slanderers unjustly call him, but one such as the Greeks boast of having had in Minos[a] and later legislators. For among these some attributed their laws to Zeus, others traced them to Apollo and his oracle at Delphi,[b] either believing this to be the fact, or hoping in this way to facilitate their acceptance. But the question, who was the most successful legislator, and who attained to the truest conception of God, may be answered

[a] Reputed king and legislator of Crete.
[b] "Some," *e.g.* Minos; "others," *e.g.* Lycurgus.

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[7] μετ' αὐτὸν *ed. pr.* with Lat.: μετὰ ταῦτα L.
[8] Text emended by Niese; that of the MS. is corrupt and glossed.
[9] τῆς δικαιοτάτης Eus.: τὶς ὁ δικαιότατα L Lat.

πάρεστιν ἐξ αὐτῶν κατανοεῖν τῶν νόμων ἀντιπαρα-
βάλλοντας· ἤδη γὰρ περὶ τούτων λεκτέον.
164 Οὐκοῦν ἄπειροι μὲν αἱ κατὰ μέρος τῶν ἐθῶν
καὶ τῶν νόμων παρὰ τοῖς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις
διαφοραί. κεφαλαιωδῶς <δ'> ἂν ἐπίοι τις·[1] οἱ
μὲν γὰρ μοναρχίαις, οἱ δὲ ταῖς ὀλίγων δυναστείαις,
ἄλλοι δὲ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐπέτρεψαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν
165 τῶν πολιτευμάτων. ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης εἰς
μὲν τούτων οὐδοτιοῦν ἀπεῖδεν, ὡς δ' ἄν τις εἴποι
βιασάμενος τὸν λόγον, θεοκρατίαν ἀπέδειξε τὸ
πολίτευμα, θεῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ κράτος ἀναθείς.
166 καὶ πείσας εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἅπαντας ἀφορᾶν ὡς αἴτιον
μὲν ἁπάντων ὄντα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἃ κοινῇ τε πᾶσιν
ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει καὶ ὅσων ἔτυχον αὐτοὶ δεη-
θέντες ἐν ἀμηχάνοις, λαθεῖν δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην
οὐκ ἐνὸν οὔτε τῶν πραττομένων οὐθὲν οὔθ' ὧν ἄν
167 τις παρ' αὐτῷ διανοηθείη, ἕνα γοῦν[2] αὐτὸν ἀπ-
έφηνε καὶ ἀγένητον καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀίδιον χρόνον
ἀναλλοίωτον, πάσης ἰδέας θνητῆς κάλλει δια-
φέροντα καὶ δυνάμει μὲν ἡμῖν γνώριμον, ὁποῖος
δὲ κατ' οὐσίαν ἐστὶν ἄγνωστον.
168 Ταῦτα περὶ θεοῦ φρονεῖν οἱ σοφώτατοι παρ'
Ἕλλησιν ὅτι μὲν ἐδιδάχθησαν ἐκείνου τὰς ἀρχὰς
παρασχόντος, ἐῶ νῦν λέγειν, ὅτι δ' ἐστὶ καλὰ καὶ
πρέποντα τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσει καὶ μεγαλειότητι,
σφόδρα μεμαρτυρήκασι· καὶ γὰρ Πυθαγόρας καὶ
Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ Πλάτων οἵ τε μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ
τῆς στοᾶς φιλόσοφοι καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ἅπαντες

[1] κεφ. ἂν ἐπίοι τις Eus.: om. L Lat.
[2] ἕνα γοῦν L : ἀλλ' Eus.

[a] The word was apparently coined by Josephus; the idea goes back to the O.T.

by contrasting the laws themselves with those of others, and to these I must now turn.

There is endless variety in the details of the customs and laws which prevail in the world at large. To give but a summary enumeration: some peoples have entrusted the supreme political power to monarchies, others to oligarchies, yet others to the masses. Our lawgiver, however, was attracted by none of these forms of polity, but gave to his constitution the form of what—if a forced expression be permitted—may be termed a "theocracy,"[a] placing all sovereignty and authority in the hands of God. To Him he persuaded all to look, as the author of all blessings, both those which are common to all mankind, and those which they had won for themselves by prayer in the crises of their history. He convinced them that no single action, no secret thought, could be hid from Him. He represented Him as One, uncreated[b] and immutable to all eternity; in beauty surpassing all mortal thought,[c] made known to us by His power, although the nature of His real being[d] passes knowledge. His constitution a "theocracy."

That the wisest of the Greeks learnt to adopt these conceptions of God from principles with which Moses supplied them,[e] I am not now concerned to urge; but they have borne abundant witness to the excellence of these doctrines, and to their consonance with the nature and majesty of God. In fact, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, the Stoics who succeeded him, and indeed nearly all the philosophers appear to have A religion for the many, not (like Greek philosophy) for the few.

[b] Not born like the Greek gods (see § 240 below).
[c] Or "form"; *cf.* § 190. [d] Or "essence."
[e] This theory, first propounded by Aristobulus (2nd cent. B.C.), was adopted by Philo and later writers.

οὕτω φαίνονται περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φύσεως πε-
169 φρονηκότες. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πρὸς ὀλίγους φιλοσοφοῦντες εἰς πλήθη δόξαις προκατειλημμένα τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ δόγματος ἐξενεγκεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν, ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης, ἅτε δὴ τὰ ἔργα παρέχων σύμφωνα τοῖς λόγοις,[1] οὐ μόνον τοὺς καθ' αὑτὸν ἔπεισεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων ἀεὶ γενησομένοις τὴν περὶ θεοῦ πίστιν ἐνέφυσεν ἀμετακίνη-
170 τον. αἴτιον δ' ὅτι καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς νομοθεσίας πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον πάντων [ἀεὶ][2] πολὺ διήνεγκεν· οὐ γὰρ μέρος ἀρετῆς ἐποίησεν τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ ταύτης μέρη τἆλλα, λέγω δὲ τὴν δικαιοσύνην, τὴν σωφροσύνην, τὴν καρτερίαν, τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν
171 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ἅπασι συμφωνίαν. ἅπασαι γὰρ αἱ πράξεις καὶ διατριβαὶ καὶ λόγοι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἡμῖν εὐσέβειαν ἔχουσι τὴν ἀναφοράν· οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτων ἀνεξέταστον οὐδ' ἀόριστον παρέλιπεν.

Δύο μὲν γάρ εἰσιν ἁπάσης παιδείας τρόποι καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἤθη κατασκευῆς, ὧν ὁ μὲν λόγῳ διδασκαλικός, ὁ δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀσκήσεως τῶν ἠθῶν.
172 οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι νομοθέται ταῖς γνώμαις διέστησαν καὶ τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν, ὃν ἔδοξεν ἑκάστοις, ἑλόμενοι τὸν ἕτερον παρέλιπον, οἷον Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ Κρῆτες ἔθεσιν ἐπαίδευον, οὐ λόγοις, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ σχεδὸν οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες Ἕλληνες ἃ μὲν χρὴ πράττειν ἢ μὴ προσέτασσον διὰ τῶν νόμων, τοῦ
173 δὲ πρὸς αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐθίζειν ὠλιγώρουν.

(17) Ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἄμφω ταῦτα συνήρ-

[1] συμφ. τ. λογ. L Lat.: τοῖς νόμοις σύμφωνα Eus.
[2] Om. ἀεὶ Eus.

held similar views concerning the nature of God. These, however, addressed their philosophy to the few, and did not venture to divulge their true beliefs to the masses who had their own preconceived opinions; whereas our lawgiver, by making practice square with precept, not only convinced his own contemporaries, but so firmly implanted this belief concerning God in their descendants to all future generations that it cannot be moved. The cause of his success was that the very nature of his legislation made it [always] far more useful than any other; for he did not make religion a department of virtue, but the various virtues—I mean, justice, temperance, fortitude, and mutual harmony in all things between the members of the community[a]—departments of religion. Religion governs all our actions and occupations and speech; none of these things did our lawgiver leave unexamined or indeterminate.

All schemes of education and moral training fall into two categories; instruction is imparted in the one case by precept, in the other by practical exercising of the character. All other legislators, differing in their opinions, selected the particular method which each preferred and neglected the other. Thus the Lacedaemonians and Cretans employed practical, not verbal, training; whereas the Athenians and nearly all the rest of the Greeks made laws enjoining what actions might or might not be performed, but neglected to familiarize the people with them by putting them into practice.

Moses combined precept and practice.

(17) Our legislator, on the other hand, took great

[a] The four cardinal virtues of the Platonic School, except that Harmony (συμφωνία) here replaces the usual Wisdom (φρόνησις).

μοσε κατὰ πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν· οὔτε γὰρ κωφὴν ἀπέλιπε τὴν τῶν ἠθῶν ἄσκησιν οὔτε τὸν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου λόγον ἄπρακτον εἴασεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀρξάμενος τροφῆς καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ἑκάστων[1] διαίτης, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν βραχυτάτων αὐτεξούσιον ἐπὶ ταῖς βουλήσεσι τῶν χρησομένων
174 κατέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ σιτίων, ὅσων ἀπέχεσθαι χρὴ καὶ τίνα προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινωνησόντων τῆς διαίτης, ἔργων τε συντονίας καὶ τοὔμπαλιν ἀναπαύσεως ὅρον ἔθηκεν αὐτὸς[2] καὶ κανόνα τὸν νόμον, ἵν' ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πατρὶ τούτῳ καὶ δεσπότῃ ζῶντες μήτε βουλόμενοι μηθὲν μήθ' ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἁμαρτάνωμεν.

175 Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἀπὸ[3] τῆς ἀγνοίας ὑποτίμησιν κατέλιπεν,[4] ἀλλὰ καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον ἀπέδειξε παίδευμα τὸν νόμον, οὐκ εἰσάπαξ ἀκροασομένοις οὐδὲ δὶς ἢ πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ἑκάστης ἑβδομάδος τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων ἀφεμένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἐκέλευσε τοῦ νόμου συλλέγεσθαι καὶ τοῦτον ἀκριβῶς ἐκμανθάνειν· ὃ δὴ πάντες ἐοίκασιν οἱ νομοθέται παραλιπεῖν.

176 (18) Καὶ τοσοῦτον οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέχουσι τοῦ κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους νόμους ζῆν, ὥστε σχεδὸν αὐτοὺς οὐδ' ἴσασιν, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐξαμάρτανωσι, τότε παρ' ἄλλων μανθάνουσιν ὅτι τὸν
177 νόμον παραβεβήκασιν. οἵ τε τὰς μεγίστας καὶ κυριωτάτας παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς διοικοῦντες ὁμο-

[1] Eus.: κατὰ τὸ (ed. pr.: τὸν L) οἰκεῖον ἑκάστῳ L.
[2] αὐτοῖς Niese. [3] ὑπὸ Eus.
[4] Eus.: ἠνέσχετο καταλιπεῖν L.

[a] Cf. Philo's eulogy of Moses for avoiding the one-sided extremes of other legislators (*De opif. mundi* 1).
[b] Lit. "dumb." [c] Or "diet."

care to combine both systems.[a] He did not leave practical training in morals inarticulate[b]; nor did he permit the letter of the law to remain inoperative. Starting from the very beginning with the food of which we partake from infancy and the private life[c] of the home, he left nothing, however insignificant, to the discretion and caprice of the individual. What meats a man should abstain from, and what he may enjoy; with what persons he should associate; what period should be devoted respectively to strenuous labour and to rest—for all this our leader made the Law the standard and rule, that we might live under it as under a father and master,[d] and be guilty of no sin through wilfulness or ignorance.

For ignorance he left no pretext. He appointed the Law to be the most excellent and necessary form of instruction, ordaining, not that it should be heard once for all or twice or on several occasions, but that every week men should desert their other occupations and assemble to listen to the Law and to obtain a thorough and accurate knowledge of it,[e] a practice which all other legislators seem to have neglected.

All Jews know their Law.

(18) Indeed, most men, so far from living in accordance with their own laws, hardly know what they are. Only when they have done wrong do they learn from others that they have transgressed the law. Even those of them who hold the highest and most important offices admit their ignorance; for

[d] *Cf.* Gal. iii. 24 for the law as "tutor" (παιδαγωγός).

[e] Josephus follows the Rabbinical tradition (Talm. Jer. *Megilla*, iv. 1), which ascribed to Moses the introduction of the custom of public reading of the Law on Sabbaths and festivals. *Cf. A.* xvi. 43; Philo, *De opif. mund.* § 128 (Cohn); and Dr. Büchler's art. in *J.Q.R.* v. 427 (1893). Deut. xxxi. 10 provides merely for a septennial reading.

λογοῦσι τὴν ἄγνοιαν· ἐπιστάτας γὰρ παρακαθίστανται τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων οἰκονομίας τοὺς
178 ἐμπειρίαν ἔχειν τῶν νόμων ὑπισχνουμένους. ἡμῶν δ' ὁντινοῦν τις ἔροιτο τοὺς νόμους ῥᾷον ἂν εἴποι πάντας ἢ τοὔνομα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ. τοιγαροῦν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης εὐθὺς αἰσθήσεως αὐτοὺς ἐκμανθάνοντες ἔχομεν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὥσπερ ἐγκεχαραγμένους, καὶ σπάνιος μὲν ὁ παραβαίνων, ἀδύνατος δ' ἡ τῆς κολάσεως παραίτησις.

179 (19) Τοῦτο πρῶτον ἁπάντων τὴν θαυμαστὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἡμῖν ἐμπεποίηκεν. τὸ γὰρ μίαν μὲν ἔχειν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν περὶ θεοῦ, τῷ βίῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσι μηδὲν ἀλλήλων διαφέρειν, καλλίστην
180 ἐν ἤθεσιν ἀνθρώπων συμφωνίαν ἀποτελεῖ. παρ' ἡμῖν γὰρ μόνοις οὔτε περὶ θεοῦ λόγους ἀκούσεταί τις ἀλλήλοις ὑπεναντίους, ὁποῖα πολλὰ παρ' ἑτέροις οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων μόνον κατὰ τὸ προσπεσὸν ἑκάστῳ λέγεται πάθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρά τισι τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀποτετόλμηται, τῶν μὲν τὴν ὅλην τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν ἀναιρεῖν τοῖς λόγοις ἐπικεχειρηκότων, ἄλλων δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν
181 πρόνοιαν ἀφαιρουμένων· οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τῶν βίων ὄψεται διαφοράν, ἀλλὰ κοινὰ μὲν ἔργα πάντων παρ' ἡμῖν, εἷς δὲ λόγος ὁ τῷ νόμῳ συμφωνῶν περὶ θεοῦ, πάντα λέγων ἐκεῖνον ἐφορᾶν. καὶ μὴν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ὅτι δεῖ πάντα τἆλλα τέλος ἔχειν τὴν εὐσέβειαν, καὶ γυναικῶν ἀκούσειεν ἄν τις καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν.

182 (20) Ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸ προφερόμενον ἡμῖν ὑπό τινων ἔγκλημα, τὸ δὴ μὴ καινῶν εὑρετὰς ἔργων ἢ λόγων

they employ professional legal experts as assessors and leave them in charge of the administration of affairs.[a] But, should anyone of our nation be questioned about the laws, he would repeat them all more readily than his own name. The result, then, of our thorough grounding in the laws from the first dawn of intelligence is that we have them, as it were, engraven on our souls. A transgressor is a rarity; evasion of punishment by excuses an impossibility.

Harmony resulting from unity of creed.

(19) To this cause above all we owe our admirable harmony. Unity and identity of religious belief, perfect uniformity in habits and customs, produce a very beautiful concord in human character. Among us alone will be heard no contradictory statements about God, such as are common among other nations, not only on the lips of ordinary individuals under the impulse of some passing mood, but even boldly propounded by philosophers; some putting forward crushing arguments against the very existence of God,[b] others depriving Him of His providential care for mankind.[c] Among us alone will be seen no difference in the conduct of our lives. With us all act alike, all profess the same doctrine about God, one which is in harmony with our Law and affirms that all things are under His eye. Even our womenfolk and dependants would tell you that piety must be the motive of all our occupations in life.

(20) This, in fact, is the origin of the reproach brought against us by some critics[d] of our having

[a] Assessors (πάρεδροι) were attached to the Athenian archons; Roman provincial governors had legal advisers.

[b] Sceptics such as Pyrrhon and his disciple Timon.

[c] *e.g.* the Epicureans.

[d] *Cf.* §§ 135, 148.

ἄνδρας παρασχεῖν, ἐντεῦθεν συμβέβηκεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι τὸ μηδενὶ τῶν πατρίων ἐμμένειν καλὸν εἶναι νομίζουσι καὶ τοῖς τολμῶσι ταῦτα παραβαίνειν μάλιστα σοφίας δεινότητα μαρτυροῦσιν,
183 ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὐναντίον μίαν εἶναι καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ ἀρετὴν ὑπειλήφαμεν τὸ μηδὲν ὅλως ὑπεναντίον μήτε πρᾶξαι μήτε διανοηθῆναι τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς νομοθετηθεῖσιν. ὅπερ εἰκότως ἂν εἴη τεκμήριον τοῦ κάλλιστα τὸν νόμον τεθῆναι· τὰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτον ἔχοντα τὸν τρόπον αἱ πεῖραι δεόμενα διορθώσεως ἐλέγχουσιν.

184 (21) Ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς πεισθεῖσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τεθῆναι τὸν νόμον κατὰ θεοῦ βούλησιν οὐδ' εὐσεβὲς ἦν τοῦτον μὴ φυλάττειν. τί γὰρ αὐτοῦ τις ἂν μετακινήσειεν, ἢ τί κάλλιον ἐξεῦρεν, ἢ τί παρ' ἑτέρων ὡς ἄμεινον μετήνεγκεν; ἆρά γε τὴν ὅλην κατάστασιν
185 τοῦ πολιτεύματος; καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίων ἢ δικαιοτέρα γένοιτο τῆς θεὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὅλων[1] πεποιημένης, τοῖς ἱερεῦσι δὲ κοινῇ μὲν τὰ μέγιστα διοικεῖν ἐπιτρεπούσης, τῷ δὲ πάντων ἀρχιερεῖ πάλιν αὖ πεπιστευκυίας τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων
186 ἡγεμονίαν; οὓς οὐ κατὰ πλοῦτον οὐδέ τισιν ἄλλαις προύχοντας αὐτομάτοις πλεονεξίαις τὸ πρῶτον εὐθὺς ὁ νομοθέτης ἐπὶ τὴν τιμὴν[2] ἔταξεν, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ πειθοῖ τε καὶ σωφροσύνῃ τῶν ἄλλων διέφερον, τούτοις τὴν περὶ τὸν θεὸν μάλιστα
187 θεραπείαν ἐνεχείρισεν. τοῦτο[3] δ' ἦν καὶ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀκριβὴς ἐπιμέλεια· καὶ γὰρ ἐπόπται πάντων καὶ δικασταὶ τῶν

[1] + ἡγεῖσθαι Eus. [2] τῆς τιμῆς Niese.
[3] Eus.: τούτου L: τούτοις *ed. pr.* (so Lat. apparently).

produced no inventors in crafts or literature. In the eyes of the world at large there is something fine in breaking away from all inherited customs; those who have the temerity to defy them are credited with the possession of consummate ability. To us, on the other hand, the only wisdom, the only virtue, consists in refraining absolutely from every action, from every thought that is contrary to the laws originally laid down. This may fairly be claimed as a proof of their excellent draftsmanship; codes which are not of this character are proved by experience to need amendment.

Our stability explains our alleged lack of inventiveness.

(21) For us, with our conviction that the original institution of the Law was in accordance with the will of God, it would be rank impiety not to observe it. What could one alter in it? What more beautiful one could have been discovered? What improvement imported from elsewhere? Would you change the entire character of the constitution? Could there be a finer or more equitable polity than one which sets God at the head of the universe, which assigns the administration of its highest affairs to the whole body of priests, and entrusts to the supreme high-priest the direction of the other priests? These men, moreover, owed their original promotion by the legislator to their high office, not to any superiority in wealth or other accidental advantages. No; of all his companions, the men to whom he entrusted the ordering of divine worship as their first charge were those who were pre-eminently gifted with persuasive eloquence and discretion. But this charge further embraced a strict superintendence of the Law and of the pursuits of everyday life; for the appointed duties of the priests included general supervision, the

Our theocratic constitution could not be improved.

ἀμφισβητουμένων καὶ κολασταὶ τῶν κατεγνωσμέ-
νων οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐτάχθησαν.
188 (22) Τίς ἂν οὖν ἀρχὴ γένοιτο ταύτης ὁσιωτέρα; τίς
δὲ τιμὴ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἁρμόζουσα, παντὸς μὲν τοῦ
πλήθους κατεσκευασμένου πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν,
ἐξαίρετον δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἱερέων πεπιστευ-
μένων, ὥσπερ δὲ τελετῆς τινος τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας
189 οἰκονομουμένης; ἃ γὰρ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν
ἐπιτηδεύοντες ἄλλοι[1] φυλάττειν οὐ δύνανται, μυ-
στήρια καὶ τελετὰς ἐπονομάζοντες, ταῦτα μεθ'
ἡδονῆς καὶ γνώμης ἀμεταθέτου[2] φυλάττομεν ἡμεῖς
διὰ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος.[3]

190 Τίνες οὖν εἰσιν αἱ προρρήσεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις[4];
ἁπλαῖ τε καὶ γνώριμοι. πρώτη δ' ἡγεῖται ἡ περὶ
θεοῦ λέγουσα ὅτι[5] θεὸς ἔχει τὰ σύμπαντα, παντελὴς
καὶ μακάριος, αὐτὸς αὑτῷ καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτάρκης,
ἀρχὴ καὶ μέσα καὶ τέλος οὗτος τῶν πάντων, ἔργοις
μὲν καὶ χάρισιν ἐναργὴς καὶ παντὸς οὑτινοσοῦν
φανερώτερος, μορφὴν δὲ καὶ μέγεθος ἡμῖν ἄφα-
191 τος.[6] πᾶσα μὲν γὰρ ὕλη πρὸς εἰκόνα τὴν τούτου
κἂν ᾖ πολυτελὴς ἄτιμος, πᾶσα δὲ τέχνη πρὸς
μιμήσεως ἐπίνοιαν ἄτεχνος· οὐδὲν ὅμοιον οὔτ'
εἴδομεν οὔτ' ἐπινοοῦμεν οὔτ' εἰκάζειν ἐστὶν ὅσιον.

[1] Eus.: ἀλλόφυλοι L Lat.
[2] Eus.: ἀμεταπ(ε)ίστου L, *ed. pr.*
[3] δι' αἰῶνος Eus. codd.
[4] προαγορεύσεις Eus.
[5] Niese: ὁ L.
[6] ἀφανέστατος Eus.

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[a] There is a similar passage in Hecataeus's sketch of Judaism (*ap.* Diod. Sic. xl *sub fin.*), which Josephus apparently has in mind, on the selection of the priests and their duties, and the supremacy of the high-priest.

trial of cases of litigation, and the punishment of condemned persons.[a]

(22) Could there be a more saintly government than that? Could God be more worthily honoured than by such a scheme, under which religion is the end and aim of the training of the entire community, the priests are entrusted with the special charge of it, and the whole administration of the state resembles some sacred ceremony[b]? Practices which, under the name of mysteries and rites of initiation, other nations are unable to observe for but a few days, we maintain with delight and unflinching determination all our lives.

The first commandment. The Jewish conception of God.

What, then, are the precepts and prohibitions of our Law? They are simple and familiar. At their head stands one of which God is the theme. The universe is in God's hands; perfect and blessed, self-sufficing and sufficing for all, He is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things.[c] By His works and bounties He is plainly seen, indeed more manifest than ought else; but His form and magnitude surpass our powers of description. No materials, however costly, are fit to make an image of Him; no art has skill to conceive and represent it. The like of Him we have never seen, we do not imagine, and it is impious to conjecture. We behold His

[b] Or "rite of initiation."

[c] For "the beginning and the end" *cf.* Apoc. i. 8, xxi. 6. For "the middle" Reinach quotes a rabbinical tradition (Talm. Jer. *Sanhed.* 18*a*) that God is represented by the word for "truth" (אמת), because it consists of the first, "middle" (incorrect), and last letter of the Hebrew alphabet, but suspects that the three letters (Aleph, Mem, Taw) are really a transcription of the initials of the Greek words ἀρχή, μέσον, τέλος.

192 ἔργα βλέπομεν αὐτοῦ φῶς, οὐρανόν, γῆν, ἥλιον,
ὕδατα, ζῴων γενέσεις, καρπῶν ἀναδόσεις. ταῦτα
θεὸς ἐποίησεν οὐ χερσίν, οὐ πόνοις, οὔ τινων συν-
εργασομένων[1] ἐπιδεηθείς, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ θελήσαντος
καλῶς ἦν εὐθὺς γεγονότα. τοῦτον θεραπευτέον
ἀσκοῦντας ἀρετήν· τρόπος γὰρ θεοῦ θεραπείας
οὗτος ὁσιώτατος.
193 (23) Εἷς ναὸς ἑνὸς θεοῦ, φίλον γὰρ ἀεὶ παντὶ τὸ
ὅμοιον, κοινὸς ἁπάντων κοινοῦ θεοῦ ἁπάντων.
τοῦτον θεραπεύουσιν μὲν διὰ παντὸς οἱ ἱερεῖς,
194 ἡγεῖται δὲ τούτων ὁ πρῶτος ἀεὶ κατὰ γένος. οὗτος
μετὰ τῶν συνιερέων θύσει τῷ θεῷ, φυλάξει τοὺς
νόμους, δικάσει περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων, κο-
λάσει τοὺς ἐλεγχθέντας. ὁ τούτῳ μὴ πειθόμενος
195 ὑφέξει δίκην ὡς εἰς θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀσεβῶν. θύομεν
τὰς θυσίας οὐκ εἰς μέθην ἑαυτοῖς, ἀβούλητον γὰρ
196 θεῷ τόδε, ἀλλ' εἰς σωφροσύνην. καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς
θυσίαις χρὴ πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς εὔχεσθαι
σωτηρίας, εἶθ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπὶ γὰρ κοινωνίᾳ
γεγόναμεν, καὶ ταύτην ὁ προτιμῶν τοῦ καθ' αὑτὸν
197 ἰδίου μάλιστ' <ἂν> εἴη θεῷ κεχαρισμένος. δέησις
δ' ἔστω πρὸς τὸν θεόν, οὐχ ὅπως δῷ[2] τἀγαθά,

[1] Niese: συνεργασαμένων L Eus.
[2] διδῷ Eus.

[a] Plato (*Tim.* 41 c, 42 e) represented God as employing collaborators in the work of creation. He was followed by Philo (*De opif. mund.* § 72 Cohn), who from Gen. i. 26 ("let *us* make man") infers a plurality of δημιουργοί for the creation of man, whereas for the rest of creation οὐδενὸς ἐδεήθη τοῦ συνεργήσοντος. Josephus has used the *Timaeus* above (*Ap.* i. 7); but his language is here so similar to that of Philo that he may be combating the latter.

[b] Gen. i. 31.

works: the light, the heaven, the earth, the sun, the waters, the reproductive creatures, the sprouting crops. These God created, not with hands, not with toil, not with assistants of whom He had no need;[a] He willed it so, and forthwith they were made in all their beauty.[b] Him must we worship by the practice of virtue; for that is the most saintly manner of worshipping God.

The temple and the cult.

(23) We have[c] but one temple for the one God (for like ever loveth like),[d] common to all as God is common to all. The priests are continually engaged in His worship, under the leadership of him who for the time is head of the line. With his colleagues he will sacrifice to God, safeguard the laws, adjudicate in cases of dispute, punish those convicted of crime.[e] Any who disobey him will pay the penalty as for impiety towards God Himself. Our sacrifices are not occasions for drunken self-indulgence—such practices are abhorrent to God—but for sobriety.[f] At these sacrifices prayers for the welfare of the community must take precedence of those for ourselves; for we are born for fellowship, and he who sets its claims above his private interests is specially acceptable to God. We should beseech God not to give us blessings, for He has given them spontane-

[c] The Greek has no verb here; the present and future tenses in §§ 193-5 are noteworthy in a work written after A.D. 70, which brought the temple cult to an end.

[d] *Cf.* Aristot. *Eth.* ix. 3. 3 (" like is dear to like "); Sirach xiii. 15 (19).

[e] *Cf.* § 187.

[f] So Eusebius. Cod. L, which throughout this portion has interpolations, reads " and would be an excuse for insolence and extravagance—but sober, orderly, noble (perhaps read ' simple '), in order that we may show special sobriety when sacrificing."

δέδωκε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑκὼν καὶ πᾶσιν εἰς μέσον κατα-
τέθεικεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως δέχεσθαι δυνώμεθα καὶ λα-
198 βόντες φυλάττωμεν. ἁγνείας ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις
διείρηκεν ὁ νόμος ἀπὸ κήδους, ἀπὸ λεχοῦς,[1] ἀπὸ
κοινωνίας τῆς πρὸς γυναῖκα καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων
[ἃ μακρὸν ἂν εἴη γράφειν. τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ περὶ
θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου θεραπείας λόγος ἡμῖν ἐστιν,
ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἅμα καὶ νόμος].[2]
199 (24) Τίνες δ' οἱ περὶ γάμων νόμοι; μῖξιν μόνην
οἶδεν ὁ νόμος τὴν κατὰ φύσιν τὴν πρὸς γυναῖκα,
καὶ ταύτην εἰ μέλλοι τέκνων ἕνεκα γίνεσθαι. τὴν
δὲ πρὸς ἄρρενας ἀρρένων ἐστύγηκε, καὶ θάνατος
200 τοὐπιτίμιον εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσειεν. γαμεῖν δὲ κελεύει
μὴ προικὶ προσέχοντας, μηδὲ βιαίοις ἁρπαγαῖς,
μηδ' αὖ δόλῳ καὶ ἀπάτῃ πείσαντας, ἀλλὰ μνησ-
τεύειν παρὰ τοῦ δοῦναι κυρίου καὶ κατὰ συγγένειαν
201 τὴν ἐπιτήδειον.[3] [γυνὴ χείρων, φησίν, ἀνδρὸς εἰς
ἅπαντα. τοιγαροῦν ὑπακουέτω, μὴ πρὸς ὕβριν, ἀλλ'
ἵν' ἄρχηται· θεὸς γὰρ ἀνδρὶ τὸ κράτος ἔδωκεν.][4]
ταύτῃ συνεῖναι δεῖ τὸν γήμαντα μόνῃ, τὸ δὲ τὴν
ἄλλου πειρᾶν ἀνόσιον. εἰ δέ τις τοῦτο πράξειεν,
οὐδεμία θανάτου παραίτησις, οὔτ' εἰ βιάσαιτο
παρθένον ἑτέρῳ προωμολογημένην,[5] οὔτ' εἰ πείσειε
202 γεγαμημένην. τέκνα τρέφειν ἅπαντα προσέταξεν,

[1] λεχοῦς Naber: λέχους L Eus.
[2] The bracketed words are absent from the best MSS. of Eus. and are perhaps a gloss.
[3] τὴν ἐπιτήδ. L: ἐπιτηδείου Eus. codd.
[4] Passage suspected by Niese; *cf.* Ephes. v 22 and other N.T. parallels.
[5] Niese: προσωμολογημένην L.

[a] Cod. L adds: "which it would be tedious to mention.

ously and put them at the disposal of all, but for capacity to receive, and, having received, to keep them. In view of the sacrifices the Law has prescribed purifications for various occasions: after a funeral, after child-birth, after conjugal union, and many others.[a]

Laws relating to marriage.

(24) What are our marriage laws? The Law recognizes no sexual connexions, except the natural union of man and wife, and that only for the procreation of children.[b] Sodomy it abhors, and punishes any guilty of such assault with death.[c] It commands us, in taking a wife, not to be influenced by dowry, not to carry off a woman by force, nor yet to win her by guile and deceit, but to sue from him who is authorized to give her away the hand of one who is not ineligible on account of nearness of kin.[d] The woman, says the Law, is in all things inferior to the man.[e] Let her accordingly be submissive, not for her humiliation, but that she may be directed; for the authority has been given by God to the man. The husband must have union with his wife alone; it is impious to assault the wife of another. For any guilty of this crime the penalty of death is inexorable, whether he violates a virgin betrothed to another or seduces a married woman.[f] The Law orders all the offspring to be brought up, and forbids women either

Such is our doctrine, and the Law is to the same effect, concerning God and His worship."

[b] Restriction not specified in the Pentateuch, but implied by the Talmud (passages cited by Reinach). *Cf.* the practice of one order of Essenes, *B.* ii. 161.

[c] Lev. xx. 13; xviii. 22 with 29.

[d] For the forbidden marriages of near of kin Lev. xviii. 6 ff.; the other injunctions in this sentence rest on tradition.

[e] Gen. iii. 16.

[f] Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22-27.

καὶ γυναιξὶν ἀπεῖπε μήτ' ἀμβλοῦν τὸ σπαρὲν μήτε διαφθείρειν, ἀλλ' ἣν φανείη τεκνοκτόνος ἂν εἴη, ψυχὴν ἀφανίζουσα καὶ τὸ γένος ἐλαττοῦσα. τοιγαροῦν οὐδ' εἴ τις ἐπὶ λεχοῦς[1] *φθορὰν παρέλθοι,*
203 *καθαρὸς εἶναι τότε προσήκει. καὶ μετὰ τὴν νόμιμον συνουσίαν ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἀπολούσασθαι. ψυχῆς γὰρ ἔχειν τοῦτο μερισμὸν πρὸς ἄλλην χώραν ὑπέλαβεν·*[2] *καὶ γὰρ ἐμφυομένη σώμασι κακοπαθεῖ, καὶ τούτων αὖ θανάτῳ διακριθεῖσα. διόπερ ἁγνείας ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔταξεν.*

204 (25) *Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν παίδων γενέσεσιν ἐπέτρεψεν εὐωχίας συντελεῖν καὶ προφάσεις ποιεῖσθαι μέθης, ἀλλὰ σώφρονα τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς τῆς τροφῆς ἔταξε. καὶ γράμματα παιδεύειν ἐκέλευσεν ‹καὶ›*[3] *τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους*[4] *καὶ τῶν προγόνων τὰς πράξεις ἐπίστασθαι, τὰς μὲν ἵνα μιμῶνται, τοῖς δ' ἵνα συντρεφόμενοι μήτε παραβαίνωσι μήτε σκῆψιν ἀγνοίας ἔχωσι.*

205 (26) *Τῆς εἰς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας προυνόησεν ὁσίας οὐ πολυτελείαις ἐνταφίων, οὐ κατασκευαῖς μνημείων ἐπιφανῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν κηδείαν τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις ἐπιτελεῖν, πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς παριοῦσι*[5] *καὶ προσελθεῖν καὶ συναποδύρασθαι. καθαίρειν*

[1] *λεχοῦς* Naber: *λέχους* L Eus.
[2] Text of this clause uncertain: I follow Eus. with Niese. The other texts are: *ψυχῆς τε γὰρ καὶ σώματος ἐγγίνεται μολυσμὸς ὡς πρὸς ἄλλην χώραν ὑποβαλόντων* L: *hoc enim partem animae polluere iudicauit* Lat.
[3] Ins. Niese.
[4] Eus.: *περί τε τοὺς νόμους ἀναστρέφεσθαι* L.
[5] Eus.: *περιοῦσι*, "survivors," L Lat.

[a] Not in the Law.
[b] Lev. xv. 18.
[c] "There is transference of part of the soul or life-principle

to cause abortion or to make away with the foetus; a woman convicted of this is regarded as an infanticide, because she destroys a soul and diminishes the race.[a] For the same reason none who has intercourse with a woman who is with child can be considered pure. Even after the legitimate relations of husband and wife ablutions are required.[b] For the Law regards this act as involving a partition of the soul [part of it going] into another place[c]; for it suffers both when being implanted in bodies,[d] and again when severed from them by death. That is why the Law has enjoined purifications in all such cases.

(25) Again the Law does not allow the birth of our children to be made occasions for festivity and an excuse for drinking to excess.[e] It enjoins sobriety in their upbringing from the very first. It orders that they shall be taught to read, and shall learn both the laws and the deeds of their forefathers,[f] in order that they may imitate the latter, and, being grounded in the former, may neither transgress nor have any excuse for being ignorant of them. Education of children.

(26) The pious rites which it provides for the dead do not consist of costly obsequies or the erection of conspicuous monuments.[g] The funeral ceremony is to be undertaken by the nearest relatives, and all who pass while a burial is proceeding must join the procession and share the mourning of the family.[g] Funeral ceremonies.

from the father." I am indebted for this explanation of an obscure passage to Dr. T. E. Page.

[d] An Essene (and Platonic) view; *cf. B.* ii. 154 f.

[e] The Talmud, however, recognizes family feasts at birth and circumcision (Reinach).

[f] Deut. vi. 7, xi. 19.

[g] Talmudic regulations, not in the Law. For sharing in mourning *cf.* Sir. vii. 34.

δὲ καὶ τὸν οἶκον καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἀπὸ κήδους [ἵνα πλεῖστον ἀπέχῃ τοῦ δοκεῖν καθαρὸς εἶναί τις φόνον ἐργασάμενος].[1]

206 (27) Γονέων τιμὴν μετὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν δευτέραν ἔταξε καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἀμειβόμενον τὰς παρ᾽ αὐτῶν χάριτας ἀλλ᾽ εἰς ὁτιοῦν ἐλλείποντα λευσθησόμενον παραδίδωσι. καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τιμὴν ἔχειν τοὺς νέους φησίν, ἐπεὶ πρεσβύτατον ὁ θεός.
207 κρύπτειν οὐδὲν ἐᾷ πρὸς φίλους· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι φιλίαν τὴν μὴ πάντα πιστεύουσαν. κἂν συμβῇ τις ἔχθρα, τἀπόρρητα[2] λέγειν κεκώλυκε. δικάζων εἰ δῶρά τις λάβοι, θάνατος ἡ ζημία. περιορῶν ἱκέτην
208 βοηθεῖν ἐνὸν ὑπεύθυνος. ὃ μὴ κατέθηκέ τις οὐκ ἀναιρήσεται, τῶν ἀλλοτρίων οὐδενὸς ἅψεται, τόκον οὐ λήψεται. ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῶν συνέχει κοινωνίαν.

209 (28) Πῶς δὲ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλοφύλους ἐπιεικείας ἐφρόντισεν ὁ νομοθέτης, ἄξιον ἰδεῖν· φανεῖται γὰρ ἄριστα πάντων προνοησάμενος ὅπως μήτε τὰ οἰκεῖα διαφθείρωμεν μήτε φθονήσωμεν τοῖς μετ-
210 έχειν τῶν ἡμετέρων προαιρουμένοις. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐθέλουσιν ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν νόμους ζῆν ὑπελθόντες δέχεται φιλοφρόνως, οὐ τῷ γένει μόνον,

[1] Probably a gloss.
[2] Niese: τούτων ἀπόρρητα Eus.

[a] *Cf.* Numb. xix. 11 ff.
[b] The fifth commandment (Ex. xx. 12; Deut. v. 16) follows first after those relating to God. *Cf.* Aristeas, § 228 (ἐντολὴ μεγίστη); Rabbinical parallels in Abrahams, *Stud. in Pharisaism*, i. 26.
[c] Deut. xxi. 18 ff. [d] Lev. xix. 32.
[e] *Cf.* Dan. vii. 9 (the "ancient of days"), and perhaps Lev. xix. 32.
[f] An Essene doctrine, *B.* ii. 141; not in Pentateuch.

After the funeral the house and its inmates must be purified [a] [in order that anyone guilty of murder may be very far from thinking himself pure].

Honour of parents and other regulations.

(27) Honour to parents the Law ranks second only to honour to God,[b] and if a son does not respond to the benefits received from them—for the slightest failure in his duty towards them—it hands him over to be stoned.[c] It requires respect to be paid by the young to all their elders,[d] because God is the most Ancient of all.[e] It allows us to conceal nothing from our friends, for there is no friendship without absolute confidence;[f] in the event of subsequent estrangement, it forbids the disclosure of secrets. A judge who accepts bribes suffers capital punishment.[g] He who refuses to a suppliant the aid which he has power to give is accountable to justice.[h] None may appropriate goods which he did not place on deposit,[i] lay hands on any of his neighbour's property,[j] or receive interest.[k] These and many similar regulations are the ties which bind us together.

Attitude to aliens.

(28) The consideration given by our legislator to the equitable treatment of aliens also merits attention. It will be seen that he took the best of all possible measures at once to secure our own customs from corruption, and to throw them open ungrudgingly to any who elect to share them. To all who desire to come and live under the same laws with us, he gives a gracious welcome, holding that it is not

[g] Ex. xxiii. 8; Deut. xvi. 19, xxvii. 25; but capital punishment is nowhere mentioned.

[h] Deut. xv. 7 ff. (as a moral precept only).

[i] *Cf.* Lev. vi. 2.

[j] Ex. xx. 15, etc.

[k] *Ib.* xxii. 25; Lev. xxv. 36 f.; Deut. xxiii. 20 (except from a foreigner).

ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει τοῦ βίου νομίζων εἶναι τὴν οἰκειότητα. τοὺς δ' ἐκ παρέργου προσιόντας ἀναμίγνυσθαι τῇ συνηθείᾳ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν.

211 (29) Τἆλλα δὲ προείρηκεν, ὧν ἡ μετάδοσίς ἐστιν ἀναγκαία· πᾶσι παρέχειν τοῖς δεομένοις πῦρ ὕδωρ τροφήν, ὁδοὺς φράζειν, ἄταφον μὴ περιορᾶν, ἐπιεικεῖς δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κριθέντας
212 εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν πυρπολεῖν οὐδὲ τέμνειν ἥμερα δένδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκυλεύειν ἀπείρηκε τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντας καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων προυνόησεν, ὅπως αὐτῶν ὕβρις ἀπῇ, μάλιστα δὲ
213 γυναικῶν. οὕτως δ' ἡμερότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ἡμᾶς ἐξεπαίδευσεν, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων ὀλιγωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνην ἐφῆκε[1] τούτων χρῆσιν τὴν νόμιμον, πᾶσαν δ' ἑτέραν ἐκώλυσεν· ἃ δ' ὥσπερ ἱκετεύοντα προσφεύγει ταῖς οἰκίαις ἀπεῖπεν ἀνελεῖν. οὐδὲ νεοττοῖς τοὺς γονέας αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεψε συνεξαιρεῖν, φείδεσθαι δὲ κἂν τῇ πολεμίᾳ τῶν ἐργα-
214 ζομένων ζῴων καὶ μὴ φονεύειν. οὕτω πανταχόθεν τὰ πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν περιεσκέψατο, διδασκαλικοῖς μὲν τοῖς προειρημένοις χρησάμενος νόμοις, τοὺς δ' αὖ κατὰ τῶν παραβαινόντων τιμωρητικοὺς τάξας ἄνευ προφάσεως.

215 (30) Ζημία γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν παραβαινόντων ὁ θάνατος, ἂν μοιχεύσῃ τις, ἂν βιάσηται κόρην,

[1] ἀφῆκε Eus.

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[a] For "the stranger within the gates" *cf.* Ex. xx. 10, xxii. 21, etc.

[b] Perhaps alluding to the exclusion of the alien from Passover, Ex. xii. 43 (Reinach).

[c] So *A.* iv. 276 (generally); Deut. xxvii. 18 (to the blind). Josephus had doubtless heard the calumny upon his nation

family ties alone which constitute relationship, but agreement in the principles of conduct.[a] On the other hand, it was not his pleasure that casual visitors should be admitted to the intimacies of our daily life.[b]

(29) The duty of sharing with others was inculcated by our legislator in other matters. We must furnish fire, water, food to all who ask for them, point out the road,[c] not leave a corpse unburied,[d] show consideration even to declared enemies. He does not allow us to burn up their country[e] or to cut down their fruit trees,[f] and forbids even the spoiling of fallen combatants;[e] he has taken measures to prevent outrage to prisoners of war, especially women.[g] So thorough a lesson has he given us in gentleness and humanity that he does not overlook even the brute beasts, authorizing their use only in accordance with the Law, and forbidding all other employment of them.[h] Creatures which take refuge in our houses like suppliants we are forbidden to kill.[e] He would not suffer us to take the parent birds with their young,[i] and bade us even in an enemy's country to spare and not to kill the beasts employed in labour.[e] Thus, in every particular, he had an eye to mercy, using the laws I have mentioned to enforce the lesson, and drawing up for transgressors other penal laws admitting of no excuse. Humanity of the Law.

(30) The penalty for most offences against the Law is death: for adultery,[j] for violating an unmarried Penalties.

mentioned in Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 103 f. ("non monstrare uias," etc.).

[d] *Cf.* Deut. xxi. 23; Tobit i. 17 ff.

[e] Not in the Law.

[f] Deut. xx. 19.

[g] *Ib.* xxi. 10 ff.

[h] *i.e.* on the Sabbath, *ib.* v. 14.

[i] *Ib.* xxii. 6.

[j] Lev. xx. 10.

ἂν ἄρρενι τολμήσῃ πεῖραν προσφέρειν, ἂν ὑπομείνῃ παθεῖν ὁ πειρασθείς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ δούλοις
216 ὁμοίως ὁ νόμος ἀπαραίτητος. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ μέτρων εἴ[1] τις κακουργήσειεν ἢ σταθμῶν, ἢ περὶ πράσεως ἀδίκου καὶ δόλῳ γενομένης, κἂν ὑφέληταί τις ἀλλότριον, κἂν ὃ μὴ κατέθηκεν ἀνέληται, πάντων εἰσὶ κολάσεις οὐχ οἷαι παρ' ἑτέροις, ἀλλ'
217 ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον. περὶ μὲν γὰρ γονέων ἀδικίας ἢ τῆς εἰς θεὸν ἀσεβείας, κἂν μελλήσῃ[2] τις, εὐθὺς ἀπόλλυται.

Τοῖς μέντοι γε νομίμως βιοῦσι γέρας ἐστὶν οὐκ ἄργυρος οὐδὲ χρυσός, οὐ κοτίνου στέφανος ἢ
218 σελίνου καὶ τοιαύτη τις ἀνακήρυξις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἕκαστος αὑτῷ τὸ συνειδὸς ἔχων μαρτυροῦν πεπίστευκεν, τοῦ μὲν νομοθέτου προφητεύσαντος, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τὴν πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν[3] παρεσχηκότος, ὅτι τοῖς τοὺς νόμους διαφυλάξασι κἂν εἰ δέοι θνήσκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προθύμως ἀποθανοῦσι δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς γενέσθαι τε πάλιν καὶ βίον ἀμείνω λαβεῖν ἐκ
219 περιτροπῆς. ὤκνουν δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ταῦτα γράφειν, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἅπασιν ἦν φανερὸν ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ πολλάκις ἤδη τῶν ἡμετέρων περὶ τοῦ μηδὲ ῥῆμα φθέγξασθαι παρὰ τὸν νόμον πάντα παθεῖν γενναίως προείλοντο.

220 (31) Καίτοι γε εἰ μὴ συμβεβήκει γνώριμον ἡμῶν τὸ

[1] ἣν Eus. cod. [2] μέλλῃ Eus.
[3] Eus.: ἐχυρὰν L.

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[a] Deut. xxii. 23 (if betrothed). [b] Lev. xx. 13.
[c] *Cf.* Lev. xix. 11-13, 35-36; Deut. xxv. 13 ff.; no punishments are there named.
[d] *Cf.* Deut. xxi. 18; Lev. xxiv. 13.
[e] As in the Olympic games.

woman,[a] for outrage upon a male,[b] for consent of one so tempted to such abuse. The Law is no less inexorable for slaves. Even fraud in such matters as weights or measures, or injustice and deceit in trade, or purloining another man's property, or laying hands on what one did not deposit—all such crimes have punishments[c] attached to them which are not on the same scale as with other nations, but more severe. For example, the mere intention of doing wrong to one's parents or of impiety against God is followed by instant death.[d]

The reward of a future life.

For those, on the other hand, who live in accordance with our laws the prize is not silver or gold, no crown of wild olive[e] or of parsley[f] with any such public mark of distinction.[g] No; each individual, relying on the witness of his own conscience and the lawgiver's prophecy, confirmed by the sure testimony of God, is firmly persuaded that to those who observe the laws and, if they must needs die for them, willingly meet death, God has granted a renewed existence and in the revolution of the ages the gift of a better life.[h] I should have hesitated to write thus, had not the facts made all men aware that many of our countrymen have on many occasions ere now preferred to brave all manner of suffering rather than to utter a single word against the Law.[i]

(31) Now suppose that our nation had not happened

[f] As in the Isthmian and Nemean games.

[g] Greek "public proclamation."

[h] Here, as in his speech at Jotapata (*B.* iii. 374), Josephus gives expression to the belief, which he held as a Pharisee, in a future life; in the latter passage he uses the full phrase ἐκ περιτροπῆς αἰώνων, which explains ἐκ περιτροπῆς here. For the Pharisaic belief *cf. A.* xviii. 14.

[i] *Cf. Ap.* i. 43, ii. 233; *B.* ii. 152 f. (of Essene martyrs).

ἔθνος ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχειν κἂν φανερῷ κεῖσθαι τὴν ἐθελούσιον ἡμῶν τοῖς νόμοις ἀκολου-
221 θίαν, ἀλλά τις ἢ συγγράψαι λέγων αὐτὸς ἀνεγίνωσκε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἤ που γε[1] περιτυχεῖν ἔξω τῆς γινωσκομένης γῆς ἔφασκεν ἀνθρώποις τοιαύτην μὲν ἔχουσι δόξαν οὕτω σεμνὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, τοιούτοις δὲ νόμοις πολὺν αἰῶνα βεβαίως ἐμμεμενηκόσι, πάντας ἂν οἶμαι θαυμάσαι διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς παρ'
222 αὐτοῖς μεταβολάς. ἀμέλει τῶν γράψαι τι παραπλήσιον εἰς πολιτείαν καὶ νόμους ἐπιχειρησάντων ὡς θαυμαστὰ συνθέντων κατηγοροῦσι, φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς λαβεῖν ἀδυνάτους ὑποθέσεις. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους παραλείπω φιλοσόφους, ὅσοι τι τοιοῦτον
223 ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν[2] ἐπραγματεύσαντο, Πλάτων δὲ θαυμαζόμενος παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὡς καὶ σεμνότητι βίου διενεγκὼν καὶ δυνάμει λόγων καὶ πειθοῖ πάντας ὑπεράρας τοὺς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ γεγονότας, ὑπὸ τῶν φασκόντων δεινῶν εἶναι τὰ πολιτικὰ μικροῦ δεῖν χλευαζόμενος καὶ κωμῳδούμενος
224 διατελεῖ. καίτοι τἀκείνου σκοπῶν συχνῶς[3] τις ἂν εὕροι ῥᾴονα ὄντα[4] καὶ τῆς[5] τῶν πολλῶν ἔγγιον συνηθείας.[6] αὐτὸς δὲ Πλάτων ὡμολόγηκεν ὅτι τὴν ἀληθῆ περὶ θεοῦ δόξαν εἰς τὴν τῶν ὄχλων ἄγνοιαν[7] οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς ἐξενεγκεῖν.
225 Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Πλάτωνος λόγους τινὲς εἶναι κενοὺς νομίζουσι, κατὰ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν κεκαλλιγραφημένους, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν νομοθετῶν Λυκ-

[1] Om. γε Eus.
[2] συγγράμμασιν L Lat. Eus. cod.
[3] I suggest συχνῷ.
[4] *ed. pr.*: ῥᾷον ὄντα L, ῥᾷον Eus.
[5] Naber: τὰς Eus., ταῖς L.
[6] συνηθείαις L.
[7] L Lat.: ἄνοιαν Eus.

to be known to all the world and our voluntary obedience to our laws were not a patent fact, and suppose that some one had delivered a lecture to the Greeks which he admitted to be the outcome of his own imagination, or asserted that somewhere outside the known world he had met with people who held such sublime ideas about God and had for ages continued steadily faithful to such laws as ours; his words would, I imagine, astonish all his hearers, in view of the constant vicissitudes in their own past history. In fact, those who have attempted to draft a constitution and code on any such lines are accused of inventing something miraculous, based, according to their critics, on impossible premisses. I pass over other philosophers who have handled such topics in their writings. I need name only Plato, who, admired, as he is, by the Greeks for his outstanding dignity of character, and as one who in oratorical power and persuasive eloquence outmatched all other philosophers, is yet continually being, I may almost say, scoffed at and held up to ridicule by those who claim to be expert statesmen. And yet, on examination, his laws will be found to be frequently [a] easier than ours, and more closely approximating to the practice of the masses. Plato himself admits that it is hazardous to divulge the truth about God to the ignorant mob.[b]

We put into practice what Greeks regard as visionary ideals.

Current criticism of Plato's *Republic*.

There are, however, men who regard Plato's dialogues as futile,[c] brilliant but very fanciful compositions, and the legislator for whom they have the

We are more law-abiding than the Spartans.

[a] Or (reading συχνῷ) "far."

[b] Plato, *Tim.* 28 c: "When we have found him [viz. the maker of the universe], to speak of his nature to all men is impossible."

[c] Greek "empty."

οὗργον τεθαυμάκασι, καὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ἅπαντες
ὑμνοῦσιν, ὅτι τοῖς ἐκείνου νόμοις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
226 ἐνεκαρτέρησεν.[1] οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν ὡμολογήσθω
τεκμήριον ἀρετῆς εἶναι τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις·
οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους θαυμάζοντες τὸν ἐκείνων
χρόνον ἀντιπαραβαλλέτωσαν τοῖς πλείοσιν ἢ δισ-
227 χιλίοις ἔτεσι τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας, καὶ προσέτι
λογιζέσθωσαν, ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσον ἐφ᾿ ἑαυτῶν
χρόνον εἶχον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀκριβῶς ἔδοξαν τοὺς
νόμους διαφυλάττειν, ἐπεὶ μέντοι περὶ αὐτοὺς
ἐγένοντο μεταβολαὶ τῆς τύχης, μικροῦ δεῖν ἁπάντων
228 ἐπελάθοντο τῶν νόμων. ἡμεῖς δ᾿ ἐν τύχαις γεγο-
νότες μυρίαις διὰ τὰς τῶν βασιλευσάντων τῆς
᾿Ασίας μεταβολὰς οὐδ᾿ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῶν
δεινῶν τοὺς νόμους προύδομεν, οὐκ ἀργίας οὐδὲ
τρυφῆς[2] αὐτοὺς χάριν περιέποντες, ἀλλ᾿ εἴ τις
ἐθέλοι σκοπεῖν, πολλῷ τινι τῆς δοκούσης ἐπι-
τετάχθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καρτερίας[3] μείζονας ἄ-
229 θλους καὶ πόνους ἡμῖν ἐπιτιθέντας. οἱ μέν γε μήτε
γῆν ἐργαζόμενοι μήτε περὶ τέχνας πονοῦντες,
ἀλλὰ πάσης ἐργασίας ἄφετοι, λιπαροὶ καὶ τὰ
σώματα πρὸς κάλλος ἀσκοῦντες, ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως
230 διῆγον, ἄλλοις ὑπηρέταις πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ τοῦ βίου
χρώμενοι καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἑτοίμην παρ᾿ ἐκείνων
λαμβάνοντες, ἐφ᾿ ἓν[4] δὴ τοῦτο μόνον τὸ καλὸν
ἔργον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἅπαντα καὶ πράττειν καὶ
πάσχειν ὑπομένοντες, τὸ κρατεῖν πάντων ἐφ᾿ οὓς
231 ἂν στρατεύωσιν. ὅτι δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο κατώρθωσαν,
ἐῶ λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ καθ᾿ ἕνα μόνον, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ
πολλάκις ἀθρόως τῶν τοῦ νόμου προσταγμάτων

[1] ἐνεκαρτέρησαν Eus. (Lat.).
[2] Dindorf: τροφῆς L.
[3] Cotélier: μαρτυρίας L.
[4] Bekker: ἦν L.

highest admiration is Lycurgus; the praises of Sparta are sung by all the world, because she remained for so long faithful to his laws. Be it, then, conceded that obedience to law is a proof of virtue; but let the admirers of the Lacedaemonians set the duration of that state over against the period of upwards of two thousand years of our constitution.[a] Let them further reflect that the Lacedaemonians thought good strictly to observe their laws only so long as they retained their liberty and independence, but when they met with reverses of fortune forgot well-nigh all of them. We, on the contrary, notwithstanding the countless calamities in which changes of rulers in Asia have involved us, never even in the direst extremity proved traitors to our laws; and we respect them not from any motive of sloth or luxury. A little consideration will show that they impose on us ordeals and labours far more severe than the endurance commonly believed to have been required of the Lacedaemonians. Those men neither tilled the ground nor toiled at crafts, but, exempt from all business, passed their life in the city, sleek of person and cultivating beauty by physical training; for all the necessaries of life they had others to wait on them, by whom their food was prepared and served to them; and the sole aim for which they were prepared to do and suffer everything was the noble and humane object of defeating all against whom they took the field. Even in this, I may remark in passing, they were unsuccessful. The fact is that not isolated individuals only, but large numbers have frequently, in defiance of the injunctions of their

[a] *i.e.* from Moses to Titus.

ἀμελήσαντες αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων παρέδοσαν
τοῖς πολεμίοις.
232 (32) Ἆρ᾿ οὖν καὶ παρ᾿ ἡμῖν, οὐ λέγω τοσούτους,
ἀλλὰ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἔγνω τις[1] προδότας γενομένους
τῶν νόμων ἢ θάνατον φοβηθέντας, οὐχὶ τὸν ῥᾷστον
ἐκεῖνον λέγω τὸν συμβαίνοντα τοῖς μαχομένοις,
ἀλλὰ τὸν μετὰ λύμης τῶν σωμάτων, ὁποῖος εἶναι
233 δοκεῖ πάντων χαλεπώτατος; ὃν ἔγωγε νομίζω
τινὰς κρατήσαντας ἡμῶν οὐχ ὑπὸ μίσους προσ-
φέρειν τοῖς ὑποχειρίοις, ἀλλ᾿ ὡς θαυμαστόν τι
θέαμα βουλομένους ἰδεῖν, εἴ τινές εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι
οἱ μόνον εἶναι κακὸν αὑτοῖς πεπιστευκότες, εἰ ἢ[2]
πρᾶξαί τι παρὰ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νόμους ἢ λόγον εἰπεῖν
234 παρ᾿ ἐκείνους παραβιασθεῖεν. οὐ χρὴ δὲ θαυμά-
ζειν εἰ πρὸς θάνατον ἀνδρείως ἔχομεν ὑπὲρ τῶν
νόμων παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ
ῥᾷστα δοκοῦντα τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπιτηδευμάτων
ἄλλοι ῥᾳδίως ὑπομένουσιν, αὐτουργίαν λέγω καὶ
τροφῆς λιτότητα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἰκῇ μηδ᾿ ὡς ἔτυχεν
ἕκαστος ἐπιτεθυμηκὼς[3] φαγεῖν ἢ πιεῖν, ἢ συνουσίᾳ
προσελθεῖν ἢ πολυτελείᾳ, καὶ πάλιν ἀργίας ὑπο-
235 μεῖναι τάξιν ἀμετακίνητον. ἀλλ᾿ οἱ τοῖς ξίφεσιν
ὁμόσε χωροῦντες καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξ ἐφόδου
τρεπόμενοι τοῖς προστάγμασι τοῖς περὶ διαίτης
οὐκ <ἂν> ἀντιβλέψειαν. ἡμῖν δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ
περὶ ταῦτα τῷ νόμῳ πειθαρχεῖν ἡδέως κἀκεῖ
περίεστιν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὸ γενναῖον.

236 (33) Εἶτα Λυσίμαχοι καὶ Μόλωνες καὶ τοιοῦτοί
τινες ἄλλοι συγγραφεῖς, ἀδόκιμοι σοφισταί, μειρακίων

[1] ἔγνω τις *ed. pr.*: ἔγνων L.
[2] εἰ ἢ Niese: εἰ L: ἢ Lat., *ed. pr.*

law, surrendered in a body with their arms to the enemy.[a]

(32) Has anyone ever heard of a case of our people, not, I mean, in such large numbers, but merely two or three, proving traitors to their laws or afraid of death? I do not refer to that easiest of deaths, on the battlefield, but death accompanied by physical torture, which is thought to be the hardest of all. To such a death we are, in my belief, exposed by some of our conquerors, not from hatred of those at their mercy, but from a curiosity to witness the astonishing spectacle of men who believe that the only evil which can befall them is to be compelled to do any act or utter any word contrary to their laws. There should be nothing astonishing in our facing death on behalf of our laws with a courage which no other nation can equal. For even those practices of ours which seem the easiest others find difficult to tolerate: I mean personal service, simple diet, discipline which leaves no room for freak or individual caprice in matters of meat and drink, or in the sexual relations, or in extravagance, or again the abstention from work at rigidly fixed periods.[b] No; the men who march out to meet the sword and charge and rout the enemy could not face regulations about everyday life. On the other hand, our willing obedience to the law in these matters results in the heroism which we display in the face of death.

Our heroic endurance.

(33) For all that, the Lysimachuses and Molons and other writers of that class, reprobate sophists

[a] *e.g.* at Sphacteria (Thuc. iv. 38).
[b] *i.e.* the Sabbaths.

[1] Hudson: ὑποτεθυμηκὼς *ed. pr.* (-κεν L).

ἀπατεῶνες, ὡς πάνυ ἡμᾶς φαυλοτάτους ἀνθρώπων
237 λοιδοροῦσιν. ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐβουλόμην περὶ τῶν παρ' ἑτέροις νομίμων ἐξετάζειν· τὰ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν φυλάττειν πάτριόν ἐστιν, οὐ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ περί γε τοῦ μήτε χλευάζειν μήτε βλασφημεῖν τοὺς νομιζομένους θεοὺς παρ' ἑτέροις ἄντικρυς ἡμῖν ὁ νομοθέτης ἀπείρηκεν, αὐτῆς
238 ἕνεκα προσηγορίας τοῦ θεοῦ. τῶν δὲ κατηγόρων διὰ τῆς ἀντιπαραθέσεως ἡμᾶς ἐλέγχειν οἰομένων οὐχ οἷόν τε κατασιωπᾶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ λόγου μέλλοντος οὐχ ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεχθήσεσθαι[1] νῦν αὐτῶν συντιθέντων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν εἰρημένου καὶ λίαν εὐδοκιμούντων.[2]

239 Τίς γὰρ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τεθαυμασμένων οὐκ ἐπιτετίμηκε καὶ ποιητῶν τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις καὶ νομοθετῶν τοῖς μάλιστα πεπιστευμένοις, ὅτι τοιαύτας δόξας περὶ θεῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
240 τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐγκατέσπειραν; ἀριθμῷ μὲν ὁπόσους ἂν αὐτοὶ θελήσωσιν ἀποφαινόμενοι,[3] ἐξ ἀλλήλων δὲ γινομένους καὶ κατὰ παντοίους τρόπους γενέσεων, τούτους δὲ καὶ διαιροῦντες τόποις καὶ διαίταις, ὥσπερ τῶν ζῴων τὰ γένη, τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ γῆν, τοὺς δ' ἐν θαλάττῃ, τοὺς μέντοι πρεσβυτάτους αὐτῶν
241 ἐν τῷ ταρτάρῳ δεδεμένους. ὅσοις δὲ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπένειμαν, τούτοις πατέρα μὲν τῷ λόγῳ, τύραννον δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ δεσπότην ἐφιστάντες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνισταμένην ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ γυναικὸς καὶ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ θυγατρός, ἣν ἐκ τῆς

[1] Niese: ἐλεγχθήσεσθαι L.
[2] Lowth: εὐδοκιμοῦντος L.
[3] Niese (after Lat.): ἀποφήνασθαι L.

and deceivers of youth, rail at us as the very vilest of mankind. Gladly would I have avoided an investigation of the institutions of other nations; for it is our traditional custom to observe our own laws and to refrain from criticism of those of aliens. Our legislator has expressly forbidden us to deride or blaspheme the gods recognized by others, out of respect for the very word "God." [a] But since our accusers expect to confute us by a comparison of the rival religions, it is impossible to remain silent. I speak with the more assurance because the statement which I am about to make is no invention of my own for the occasion, but has been made by many writers of the highest reputation.

Criticism of the religion of the Greeks.

Who, in fact, is there among the admired sages of Greece who has not censured their most famous poets and their most trusted legislators for sowing in the minds of the masses the first seeds of such notions about the gods? They represent them to be as numerous as they choose, born of one another and engendered in all manner of ways. They assign them different localities and habits, like animal species, some living under ground,[b] others in the sea,[c] the oldest of all being chained in Tartarus.[d] Those to whom they have allotted heaven have set over them one who is nominally Father, but in reality a tyrant and despot; with the result that his wife and brother and the daughter, whom he begot from his

Their gross and immoral ideas about the gods.

[a] Ex. xxii. 28 ("Thou shalt not revile God"), as interpreted by the LXX (θεοὺς οὐ κακολογήσεις), by Josephus again in *A.* iv. 207, and by Philo (with the same idea of hallowing the Name), *Vita Mos.* ii. (26) 205; *De spec. leg.* i. (7) 53 Cohn.

[b] Hades, Persephone, etc.

[c] Poseidon, Amphitrite, Proteus.

[d] The Titans.

ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς ἐγέννησεν, ἵνα δὴ συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν καθείρξωσιν, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ.

242 (34) Ταῦτα δικαίως μέμψεως πολλῆς ἀξιοῦσιν οἱ φρονήσει διαφέροντες. καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καταγελῶσιν, εἰ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀγενείους καὶ μειράκια, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ γενειῶντας εἶναι χρὴ δοκεῖν, ἄλλους δὲ τετάχθαι πρὸς ταῖς τέχναις, χαλκεύοντά τινα, τὴν δ' ὑφαίνουσαν, τὸν δὲ πολεμοῦντα καὶ μετ' ἀνθρώπων μαχόμενον,
243 τοὺς δὲ κιθαρίζοντας ἢ τοξικῇ χαίροντας, εἶτ' αὐτοῖς ἐγγιγνομένας πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσεις καὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπων φιλονεικίας, μέχρι τοῦ μὴ μόνον ἀλλήλοις τὰς χεῖρας προσφέρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων τραυματιζομένους ὀδύρεσθαι καὶ κακο-
244 παθεῖν. τὸ δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀσελγέστερον, τὴν περὶ τὰς μίξεις ἀκρασίαν καὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον μικροῦ δεῖν ἅπασι προσάψαι καὶ τοῖς
245 ἄρρεσι τῶν θεῶν καὶ ταῖς θηλείαις; εἶθ' ὁ γενναιότατος καὶ πρῶτος, αὐτὸς ὁ πατήρ, τὰς ἀπατηθείσας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ γενομένας ἐγκύους καθειργνυμένας ἢ καταποντιζομένας περιορᾷ, καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότας οὔτε σώζειν δύναται, κρατούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς εἱμαρμένης, οὔτ' ἀδακρυτὶ
246 τοὺς θανάτους αὐτῶν ὑπομένειν. καλά γε ταῦτα καὶ τούτοις ἄλλα[1] ἑπόμενα, μοιχείας μὲν ἐν οὐρανῷ βλεπομένης οὕτως ἀναισχύντως ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν, ὥστε τινὰς καὶ ζηλοῦν ὁμολογεῖν τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῇ δεδεμένους. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλον, ὁπότε μηδ'

[1] τούτοις ἄλλα Hudson (with Lat.): τοῖς ἄλλοις L.

[a] Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, and Pallas Athene: *cf.* Hom. *Iliad*, i. 399 f.

own head,[a] conspire against him, to arrest and imprison him, just as he himself had treated his own father.

(34) Justly do these tales merit the severe censure which they receive from their intellectual leaders. Moreover, they ridicule the belief that some gods are beardless striplings, others old and bearded;[b] that some are appointed to trades, this one being a smith,[c] that goddess a weaver,[d] a third a warrior who fights along with men,[e] others lute-players[f] or devoted to archery;[g] and again that they are divided into factions and quarrel about men, in so much that they not only come to blows with each other, but actually lament over and suffer from wounds inflicted by mortals.[h] But—and here outrageousness reaches its climax—is it not monstrous to attribute those licentious unions and amours to well-nigh all the deities of both sexes? Furthermore, the noblest and chief of them all, the Father himself, after seducing women[i] and rendering them pregnant, leaves them to be imprisoned or drowned in the sea; and is so completely at the mercy of Destiny that he cannot either rescue his own offspring or restrain his tears at their death. Fine doings are these, and others that follow, such as adultery in heaven, with the gods as such shameless onlookers that some of them confessed that they envied the united pair.[j] And well they might, when even the eldest of them,

[b] "Iovem semper barbatum, Apollinem semper imberbem," Cic. *De nat. deor.* i. 30 (83).

[c] Hephaestus.

[d] Athene, Hom. *Iliad*, xiv. 178 f.

[e] Ares.

[f] Apollo.

[g] Apollo and Artemis.

[h] Hom. *Iliad* v. 335 ff., 375 ff.

[i] *e.g.* Danaë, Io, Leto, Semele.

[j] *Cf.* Hom. *Od.* v. 118 ff.

ὁ πρεσβύτατος καὶ βασιλεὺς ἠδυνήθη τῆς πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα μίξεως ἐπισχεῖν τὴν ὁρμὴν ὅσον γοῦν
247 εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἀπελθεῖν; οἱ δὲ δὴ δουλεύοντες τοῖς ἀνθρώποις θεοὶ καὶ νῦν μὲν οἰκοδομοῦντες ἐπὶ μισθῷ, νῦν δὲ ποιμαίνοντες, ἄλλοι δὲ τρόπον κακούργων ἐν χαλκῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ δεδεμένοι, τίνα τῶν εὖ φρονούντων οὐκ ἂν παροξύνειαν καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα συνθεῖσιν ἐπιπλῆξαι καὶ πολλὴν εὐήθειαν
248 καταγνῶναι τῶν προσεμένων;[1] οἱ δὲ καὶ δεῖμόν τινα καὶ φόβον, ἤδη δὲ καὶ λύσσαν καὶ ἀπάτην καὶ τί γὰρ οὐχὶ τῶν κακίστων παθῶν εἰς θεοῦ φύσιν καὶ μορφὴν ἀνέπλασαν· τοῖς δ' εὐφημοτέροις τούτων καὶ θύειν τὰς πόλεις ἔπεισαν.
249 τοιγαροῦν εἰς πολλὴν ἀνάγκην καθίστανται τοὺς μέν τινας τῶν θεῶν νομίζειν δοτῆρας ἀγαθῶν, τοὺς δὲ καλεῖν ἀποτροπαίους, εἶτα δὲ τούτους, ὥσπερ τοὺς πονηροτάτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, χάρισι καὶ δώροις ἀποσείονται, μέγα τι λήψεσθαι κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσδοκῶντες, εἰ μὴ μισθὸν αὐτοῖς παράσχοιεν.

250 (35) Τί τοίνυν τὸ αἴτιον τῆς τοσαύτης ἀνωμαλίας καὶ περὶ τὸ θεῖον πλημμελείας; ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπολαμβάνω τὸ μήτε τὴν ἀληθῆ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνιδεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς νομοθέτας, μήθ' ὅσον καὶ λαβεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν ἀκριβῆ γνῶσιν διορίσαντας, πρὸς τοῦτο ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἄλλην τάξιν τοῦ
251 πολιτεύματος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν φαυλοτάτων ἐφῆκαν τοῖς μὲν ποιηταῖς οὕστινας ἂν βού-

[1] Niese: προεμένων L.

[a] *Iliad* xiv. 312 ff.
[b] Poseidon and Apollo, *Iliad* xxi. 442-5.

the king, could not restrain his passion for his consort long enough to permit of withdrawal to his chamber.[a] Then there are the gods in bondage to men, hired now as builders,[b] now as shepherds[c]; and others chained, like criminals, in a prison of brass.[d] What man in his senses would not be stirred to reprimand the inventors of such fables and to condemn the consummate folly of those who believed them? They have even deified Terror and Fear,[e] nay, Frenzy and Deceit (which of the worst passions have they not transfigured into the nature and form of a god?), and have induced cities to offer sacrifices to the more respectable[f] members of this pantheon. Thus they have been absolutely compelled to regard some of the gods as givers of blessings and to call others "(gods) to be averted."[g] They then rid themselves of the latter, as they would of the worst scoundrels of humanity, by means of favours and presents, expecting to be visited by some serious mischief if they fail to pay them their price.

(35) Now, what is the cause of such irregular and erroneous conceptions of the deity? For my part, I trace it to the ignorance of the true nature of God with which their legislators entered on their task, and to their failure to formulate even such correct knowledge of it as they were able to attain and to make the rest of their constitution conform to it. Instead, as if this were the most trifling of details, they allowed

Cause of these immoral ideas: neglect of religion by the legislators

[c] Apollo, *ib.* 448 f.
[d] The Titans.
[e] Deimos and Phobos, attendants of Ares, *Iliad* xv. 119.
[f] Or "auspicious."
[g] Greek ἀποτροπαίους, *i.e. avertentes*, "averters of evil." Josephus, as is clear from the context, gives it a passive meaning, "whose evil influence is to be averted."

λωνται θεοὺς εἰσάγειν πάντα πάσχοντας, τοῖς δὲ ῥήτορσι πολιτογραφεῖν κατὰ ψήφισμα τῶν ξένων
252 θεῶν τὸν ἐπιτήδειον. πολλῆς δὲ καὶ ζωγράφοι καὶ πλάσται τῆς εἰς τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπέλαυσαν ἐξουσίας, αὐτὸς ἕκαστός τινα μορφὴν ἐπινοῶν, ὁ μὲν ἐκ πηλοῦ πλάττων, ὁ δὲ γράφων, οἱ δὲ μάλιστα δὴ θαυμαζόμενοι τῶν δημιουργῶν τὸν ἐλέφαντα καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχουσι τῆς ἀεὶ καιν-
253 ουργίας τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. [καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ παντελῶς εἰσιν, τὰ δὲ ἐμπερισπούδαστα καθάρσεσι παντοδαπαῖς περικοσμούμενα.][1] εἶθ' οἱ μὲν πρότερον ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἀκμάσαντες θεοὶ γεγηράκασιν· [οἱ δ' ὑπακμάζοντες τούτων ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει ὑποβέβληνται][1] οὕτω γὰρ εὐφημότερον
254 λέγειν· ἄλλοι δὲ καινοί τινες εἰσαγόμενοι θρησκείας τυγχάνουσιν [ὡς ἐν παρεκβάσει ὧν προείπομεν τοὺς τόπους ἐρημωθέντας καταλιπεῖν][1]· καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ μὲν ἐρημοῦνται, τὰ δὲ νεωστὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων[2] βούλησιν ἕκαστος ἱδρύεται, δέον[3] τοὐναντίον τὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τιμὴν ἀμετακίνητον διαφυλάττειν.

255 (36) Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν οὖν ὁ Μόλων τῶν ἀνοήτων εἷς ἦν καὶ τετυφωμένων. τοὺς μέντοι κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς φιλοσοφήσαντας οὔτε τῶν προειρημένων οὐδὲν διέλαθεν, οὔτε τὰς ψυχρὰς προφάσεις τῶν ἀλληγοριῶν ἠγνόησαν· διόπερ τῶν μὲν εἰκότως κατεφρόνησαν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ πρέπουσαν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν ἡμῖν συνεφώνησαν.
256 ἀφ' ἧς ὁρμηθεὶς ὁ Πλάτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων οὐδένα ποιητῶν φησι δεῖν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν παρα-

[1] The bracketed words are glosses, which have crept into the text of L and are absent from the Latin.

the poets to introduce what gods they chose, subject to all the passions, and the orators to pass decrees for entering the name of any suitable foreign god on the burgess-roll. Painters also and sculptors were given great licence in this matter by the Greeks, each designing a figure of his own imagination, one moulding it of clay, another using paints. The artists who are the most admired of all use ivory and gold as the material for the novelties which they are constantly producing.[a] And now the gods who once flourished with honours are grown old,[a] that is the kinder way of putting it; and others, newly introduced, are the objects of worship.[a] Some temples are left to desolation, others are but now being erected, according to individual caprice; whereas they ought, on the contrary, to have preserved immutably their belief in God and the honour which they rendered to Him.

and licence given to poets and artists.

(36) Apollonius Molon was but one of the crazy fools. The genuine exponents of Greek philosophy were well aware of all that I have said, nor were they ignorant of the worthless[b] shifts to which the allegorists have resort. That was why they rightly despised them and agreed with us in forming a true and befitting conception of God. From this standpoint Plato declares that no poet ought to be admitted

Analogies between the laws of Plato and those of the Jews.

[a] The MS. at these points adds the following glosses: "Some temples are completely desolate; the most celebrated are being renovated, with all manner of purifications"; "and those who flourished after them have been relegated to a secondary position"; "so that, as (?) we said before in a digression, the sites are left desolate."

[b] Greek "frigid."

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[2] τῶν ἀνθ. L: αὐτῶν Lat.

[3] + τοίνυν L (om. *ed. pr.*).

δέχεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον εὐφήμως ἀποπέμπεται στεφανώσας καὶ μύρον αὐτοῦ καταχέας, ἵνα δὴ μὴ τὴν ὀρθὴν δόξαν περὶ θεοῦ τοῖς μύθοις ἀφανίσειε.
257 μάλιστα δὲ Πλάτων μεμίμηται τὸν ἡμέτερον νομοθέτην κἀν τῷ μηδὲν οὕτω παίδευμα προστάττειν τοῖς πολίταις ὡς τὸ πάντας ἀκριβῶς τοὺς νόμους ἐκμανθάνειν, καὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐπιμίγνυσθαί τινας ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ' εἶναι καθαρὸν τὸ πολίτευμα τῶν ἐμμενόντων τοῖς
258 νόμοις προυνόησεν. ὧν οὐδὲν λογισάμενος ὁ Μόλων Ἀπολλώνιος ἡμῶν κατηγόρησεν, ὅτι μὴ παραδεχόμεθα τοὺς ἄλλαις προκατειλημμένους δόξαις περὶ θεοῦ, μηδὲ κοινωνεῖν ἐθέλομεν τοῖς καθ'
259 ἑτέραν συνήθειαν βίου ζῆν προαιρουμένοις. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἴδιον ἡμῶν, κοινὸν δὲ πάντων, οὐχ Ἑλλήνων δὲ μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκιμωτάτων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ ξενηλασίας ποιούμενοι διετέλουν καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀποδημεῖν πολίταις οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον, διαφθορὰν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὑφορώμενοι γενήσεσθαι περὶ τοὺς νόμους.
260 ἐκείνοις μὲν οὖν τάχ' ἂν[1] δυσκολίαν τις ὀνειδίσειεν εἰκότως· οὐδενὶ γὰρ οὔτε τῆς πολιτείας οὔτε τῆς
261 παρ' αὐτοῖς μετεδίδοσαν διατριβῆς. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ζηλοῦν οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν, τοὺς μέντοι μετέχειν τῶν ἡμετέρων βουλομένους ἡδέως δεχόμεθα. καὶ τοῦτο ἂν εἴη τεκμήριον, οἶμαι, φιλανθρωπίας ἅμα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας.
262 (37) Ἐῶ περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ πλείω λέγειν. οἱ δὲ κοινὴν εἶναι τὴν ἑαυτῶν δόξαντες πόλιν Ἀθηναῖοι

[1] Niese: τάχα L.

to the republic, and dismisses even Homer in laudatory terms, after crowning and anointing him with unguents, in order to prevent him from obscuring by his fables the correct doctrine about God.[a] In two points, in particular, Plato followed the example of our legislator.[b] He prescribed as the primary duty of the citizens a study of their laws, which they must all learn word for word by heart. Again, he took precautions to prevent foreigners from mixing with them at random, and to keep the state pure and confined to law-abiding citizens.[c] Of these facts Apollonius Molon took no account when he condemned us for refusing admission to persons with other preconceived ideas about God, and for declining to associate with those who have chosen to adopt a different mode of life. Yet even this habit is not peculiar to us; it is common to all, and shared not only by Greeks, but by Greeks of the highest reputation. The Lacedaemonians made a practice of expelling foreigners and would not allow their own citizens to travel abroad, in both cases apprehensive of their laws being corrupted. *They* might perhaps be justly reproached for discourtesy, because they accorded to no one the rights either of citizenship or of residence among them. We, on the contrary, while we have no desire to emulate the customs of others, yet gladly welcome any who wish to share our own. That, I think, may be taken as a proof both of humanity and magnanimity.

The expulsion of foreigners by the Spartans.

(37) Of the Lacedaemonians I will say no more. But the Athenians, who considered their city open

[a] Plato, *Rep.* iii. 398 A: and on poets generally *ib.* ii. *sub fin.*
[b] *Cf.* Aristobulus *ap.* Eus. *P.E.* xiii. 12.
[c] Plato, *Legg.*, esp. xii. 949 E ff.

πῶς περὶ τούτων εἶχον, Ἀπολλώνιος ἠγνόησεν, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ῥῆμα μόνον παρὰ τοὺς ἐκείνων νόμους φθεγξαμένους περὶ θεῶν ἀπαραιτήτως ἐκόλασαν.
263 τίνος γὰρ ἑτέρου χάριν Σωκράτης ἀπέθανεν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ προεδίδου τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐσύλησεν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καινοὺς ὅρκους ὤμνυε καί τι δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ σημαίνειν ἔφασκε νὴ Δία παίζων,[1] ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσι, διὰ ταῦτα κατ-
264 εγνώσθη κώνειον πιὼν ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ διαφθείρειν δὲ τοὺς νέους ὁ κατήγορος αὐτὸν ᾐτιᾶτο, τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας καὶ τῶν νόμων ὅτι προῆγεν αὐτοὺς καταφρονεῖν. Σωκράτης μὲν οὖν πολίτης
265 Ἀθηναῖος ὢν[2] τοιαύτην ὑπέμεινε τιμωρίαν. Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ Κλαζομένιος ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅτι νομιζόντων Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἥλιον εἶναι θεὸν ὁ δ'[3] αὐτὸν ἔφη μύδρον[4] εἶναι διάπυρον, θάνατον αὐτοῦ παρ' ὀλίγας
266 ψήφους κατέγνωσαν. καὶ Διαγόρᾳ τῷ Μηλίῳ τάλαντον ἐπεκήρυξαν, εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἀνέλοι, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς μυστήρια χλευάζειν ἐλέγετο. καὶ Πρωταγόρας εἰ μὴ θᾶττον ἔφυγε, συλληφθεὶς ἂν ἐτεθνήκει, γράψαι τι δόξας οὐχ ὁμολογούμενον
267 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις περὶ θεῶν. τί δὲ δεῖ θαυμάζειν, εἰ πρὸς ἄνδρας οὕτως ἀξιοπίστους διετέθησαν, οἵ γε μηδὲ γυναικῶν ἐφείσαντο; Νίνον[5] γὰρ τὴν

[1] Niese (*cf.* i. 255): ἔφασκεν ἢ διαπαίζων L.
[2] Niese: Ἀθηναίων L.
[3] Naber: ὅδ' L.
[4] Hudson: μύλον L.
[5] A brilliant emendation of Weil for the MS. νῦν. She is mentioned by Demosthenes, *Adv. Boeot.* 995, 1010 and by scholiasts on *De falsa leg.* 431 and elsewhere.

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[a] "By the dog" (νὴ τὸν κύνα) was his favourite oath.
[b] Lit. "by Zeus."
[c] Plato, *Apol.* 31 D.
[d] Meletus.
[e] *Apol.* 23 D.

to all comers—what was their attitude in this matter? Apollonius was ignorant of this, and of the inexorable penalty which they inflicted on any who uttered a single word about the gods contrary to their laws. On what other ground was Socrates put to death? He never sought to betray his city to the enemy, he robbed no temple. No; because he used to swear strange oaths [a] and give out (in jest, surely,[b] as some say) that he received communications from a spirit,[c] he was therefore condemned to die by drinking hemlock. His accuser [d] brought a further charge against him of corrupting young men,[e] because he stimulated them to hold the constitution and laws of their country in contempt. Such was the punishment of Socrates, a citizen of Athens. Anaxagoras [f] was a native of Clazomenae, but because he maintained that the sun, which the Athenians held to be a god, was an incandescent mass, he escaped by a few votes only from being condemned by them to death. They offered a talent for the head of Diagoras of Melos,[g] because he was reported to have jeered at their mysteries. Protagoras,[h] had he not promptly fled, would have been arrested and put to death, because of a statement about the gods in his writings which appeared to conflict with Athenian tenets. Can one wonder at their attitude towards men of such authority when they did not spare even women? They put Ninus the priestess to death, because

Impiety severely punished by the Athenians

[f] *Circa* 499-427; he owed his escape to the influence of Pericles.

[g] A contemporary of Anaxagoras and known in antiquity as "the atheist."

[h] Of Abdera, 5th cent. B.C. The book on which he was impeached began with the words: "Respecting the gods, I am unable to know whether they exist or do not exist."

ἱέρειαν ἀπέκτειναν, ἐπεί τις αὐτῆς κατηγόρησεν, ὅτι ξένους ἐμύει θεούς· νόμῳ δ' ἦν τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῖς κεκωλυμένον καὶ τιμωρία κατὰ τῶν ξένον
268 εἰσαγόντων θεὸν ὥριστο θάνατος. οἱ δὲ τοιούτῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι δῆλον ὅτι τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι θεούς· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὑτοῖς πλειόνων ἀπολαύειν ἐφθόνουν.

269 Τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναίων ἐχέτω[1] καλῶς. Σκύθαι δὲ φόνοις χαίροντες ἀνθρώπων καὶ βραχὺ τῶν θηρίων διαφέροντες, ὅμως τὰ παρ' αὑτοῖς οἴονται δεῖν περιστέλλειν, καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ θαυμασθέντα, τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν, ἐπανελθόντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνεῖλον, ἐπεὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐθῶν[2] ἔδοξεν ἥκειν ἀνάπλεως. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις ἄν τις εὕροι καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν κεκο-
270 λασμένους. ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι τοῖς Περσῶν ἔχαιρε νόμοις ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος κἀκείνους ἐθαύμαζεν, ὅτι τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτῶν ἀπέλαυσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ τῆς ὁμογνωμοσύνης ἧς εἶχον περὶ θεῶν, ταύτης μὲν [οὖν] ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς κατέπρησαν, τῆς ἀνδρείας δὲ δουλεῦσαι παρὰ μικρὸν ἐλθόντες. ἁπάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων μιμητὴς ἐγένετο τῶν Περσικῶν γυναῖκας ἀλλοτρίας ὑβρίζων καὶ παῖδας ἐκτέμνων.

271 Παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ θάνατος ὥρισται, κἂν ἄλογόν τις οὕτω ζῷον ἀδικῇ· καὶ τούτων ἡμᾶς τῶν νόμων ἀπαγαγεῖν οὔτε φόβος ἴσχυσε τῶν κρατησάντων οὔτε ζῆλος τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τετιμημένων.
272 οὐδὲ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἠσκήσαμεν ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμους

[1] Niese: ᾤχετο L. [2] θεῶν Lat.

[a] Visited Athens in the time of Solon; *cf.* Herod. iv. 76.
[b] *Cf.* for such Persian practices Herod. vi. 32.

some one accused her of initiating people into the mysteries of foreign gods; this was forbidden by their law, and the penalty decreed for any who introduced a foreign god was death. Those who had such a law evidently did not believe that the gods of other nations were gods; else they would not have denied themselves the advantage of increasing the number of their own.

So much may be said to the credit of the Athenians. But even Scythians, who delight in murdering people and are little better than wild beasts, nevertheless think it their duty to uphold their national customs; and Anacharsis,[a] whose wisdom won the admiration of the Greeks, was on his return put to death by his compatriots, because he appeared to have come back infected with Greek habits. In Persia, also, numerous instances will be found of persons being executed for the same reason. Apollonius, however, had an affection for the laws of the Persians and a high opinion of the people; evidently because Greece had a taste of their courage and the benefit of their agreement with herself in religious beliefs! The latter she experienced when she saw her temples burnt to the ground, their courage in her bare escape from subjection to their yoke. Apollonius actually imitated all the Persian practices, outraging his neighbours' wives and castrating their children.[b]

and even by Scythians and Persians.

With us such maltreatment even of a brute beast is made a capital crime.[c] And from these laws of ours nothing has had power to deflect us, neither fear of our masters, nor envy of the institutions esteemed by other nations. We have trained our courage, not

Our loyalty to our laws.

[c] An exaggeration of the law in Lev. xxii. 24 (Deut. xxiii. 1); *cf. A.* iv. 290 f.

ἄρασθαι χάριν πλεονεξίας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς νόμους διαφυλάττειν. τὰς γοῦν ἄλλας ἐλαττώσεις πρᾴως ὑπομένοντες, ἐπειδάν τινες ἡμᾶς τὰ νόμιμα κινεῖν ἀναγκάζωσι, τότε καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν αἱρούμεθα πολέμους καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων ταῖς συμφοραῖς
273 ἐγκαρτεροῦμεν. διὰ τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ ζηλώσαιμεν τοὺς ἑτέρων νόμους ὁρῶντες μηδὲ[1] παρὰ τοῖς θεμένοις αὐτοὺς τετηρημένους; πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλον Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τῆς ἀνεπιμίκτου καταγνώσεσθαι πολιτείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς γάμους ὀλιγωρίας, Ἠλεῖοι δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι τῆς παρὰ φύσιν καὶ [ἄγαν][2] ἀνέδην πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας
274 μίξεως; ἃ γοῦν πάλαι κάλλιστα καὶ συμφορώτατα πράττειν ὑπελάμβανον, ταῦτ' εἰ καὶ μὴ παντάπασι
275 τοῖς ἔργοις πεφεύγασιν, οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν νόμους ἀπόμνυνται[3] τοσοῦτόν ποτε παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἰσχύσαντας, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς τῶν ἀρρένων μίξεις ἐπεφήμισαν, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον καὶ τοὺς τῶν γνησίων ἀδελφῶν γάμους, ταύτην ἀπολογίαν αὑτοῖς τῶν ἀτόπων καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ἡδονῶν συντιθέντες.

276 (38) Ἐῶ νῦν περὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν λέγειν, ὅσας μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔδοσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι νομοθέται τοῖς πονηροῖς διαλύσεις,[4] ἐπὶ μοιχείας μὲν ζημίας χρημάτων, ἐπὶ φθορᾶς δὲ καὶ γάμους νομοθετήσαντες, ὅσας δὲ[5] περὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας προφάσεις περιέχουσιν ἀρνήσεως, εἰ καί τις ἐπιχειρήσειεν ἐξετάζειν. ἤδη γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς πλείοσι μελέτη γέγονε τοῦ παρα-
277 βαίνειν τοὺς νόμους. οὐ μὴν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ

[1] Dindorf: μήτε L. [2] Om. Lat.
[3] Niese: ἀπομίγνυνται L Lat. [4] διαδύσεις Cobet.
[5] Dindorf (with Lat.): καὶ L.

with a view to waging war for self-aggrandizement, but in order to preserve our laws. To defeat in any other form we patiently submit, but when pressure is put upon us to alter our statutes, then we deliberately fight, even against tremendous odds, and hold out under reverses to the last extremity. And why should we envy other nations their laws when we see that even their authors do not observe them? The Lacedaemonians were, of course, bound in the end to condemn their unsociable constitution and their contempt for marriage, and the people of Elis and Thebes the unnatural vice so rampant among them. At any rate, if they have not in fact altogether abandoned them, they no longer openly avow practices which once they considered very excellent and expedient. But they go further than this, and repudiate their laws on the subject of these unions—laws which at one time carried such weight with the Greeks that they actually attributed to the gods the practice of sodomy and, on the same principle, the marriage of brother and sister, thus inventing an excuse for the monstrous and unnatural pleasures in which they themselves indulged.

Other nations evade and violate their laws.

(38) In the present work I pass over the various penalties, and all the modes of compounding for them which the majority of legislators provided in their codes at the outset for offenders—accepting fines in case of adultery, marriage *in* that of immorality—and, in matters of impiety, all the subterfuges which they left open for denying the facts, if anyone took the trouble to open an inquiry. Nowadays, indeed, violation of the laws has with most nations become a fine art. Not so with us. Robbed though

κἂν πλούτου καὶ πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν στερηθῶμεν, ὁ γοῦν νόμος ἡμῖν ἀθάνατος διαμένει, καὶ οὐδεὶς Ἰουδαίων οὔτε μακρὰν οὕτως ἂν ἀπέλθοι τῆς πατρίδος οὔτε πικρὸν φοβηθήσεται δεσπότην,
278 ὡς μὴ πρὸ ἐκείνου δεδιέναι τὸν νόμον. εἰ μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν νόμων οὕτως πρὸς αὐτοὺς διακείμεθα, συγχωρησάτωσαν ὅτι κρατίστους ἔχομεν νόμους. εἰ δὲ φαύλοις οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἐμμένειν ὑπολαμβάνουσι, τί οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὶ δικαίως πάθοιεν τοὺς κρείττονας οὐ φυλάττοντες;

279 Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὁ πολὺς χρόνος πιστεύεται πάντων εἶναι δοκιμαστὴς ἀληθέστατος, τοῦτον ἂν ποιησαίμην ἐγὼ μάρτυρα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡμῶν τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ τῆς ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου φήμης περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ παραδοθείσης. ἀπείρου γὰρ τοῦ χρόνου γεγονότος, εἴ τις αὐτὸν παραβάλλοι ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἡλικίαις
280 νομοθετῶν, παρὰ πάντ᾽ ἂν[1] εὕροι τοῦτον (39) <ὅτι>[2] ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν τε διηλέγχθησαν οἱ νόμοι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἀεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ζῆλον ἐμπεποιήκασι.

281 Πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι φιλοσοφήσαντες τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν τὰ πάτρια διεφύλαττον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι[3] καὶ τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐκείνῳ[4] κατηκολούθησαν, ὅμοια μὲν περὶ θεοῦ φρονοῦντες, εὐτέλειαν δὲ βίου καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινωνίαν
282 διδάσκοντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πλήθεσιν ἤδη πολὺς ζῆλος γέγονεν ἐκ μακροῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας, οὐδ᾽ ἔστιν οὐ πόλις Ἑλλήνων οὐδ᾽

[1] πάντ᾽ ἂν Niese: πάντας L.
[2] ins. Niese.
[3] γράμμασι conj. Niese.
[4] ἐκείνοις Bekker (with Lat.).

we be of wealth, of cities, of all good things, our Law at least remains immortal;[a] and there is not a Jew so distant from his country, so much in awe of a cruel despot, but has more fear of the Law than of him. If, then, our attachment to our laws is due to their excellence, let it be granted that they are excellent. If, on the contrary, it be thought that the laws to which we are so loyal are bad, what punishment could be too great for persons who transgress those which are better?

Our laws have stood the test of time and been widely imitated.

Now, since Time is reckoned in all cases the surest test of worth,[b] I would call Time to witness to the excellence of our lawgiver and of the revelation concerning God which he has transmitted to us. An infinity of time has passed since Moses, if one compares the age in which he lived with those of other legislators; yet it will be found (39) that throughout the whole of that period not merely have our laws stood the test of our own use, but they have to an ever increasing extent excited the emulation of the world at large.

Our earliest imitators were the Greek philosophers, who, though ostensibly observing the laws of their own countries, yet in their conduct and philosophy were Moses' disciples,[c] holding similar views about God, and advocating the simple life and friendly communion between man and man. But that is not all. The masses have long since shown a keen desire to adopt our religious observances; and there is not

[a] *Cf.* in a contemporary work Bar. iv. 1: "the law that endureth for ever."

[b] *Cf.* Soph. *Ajax* 646 ff. "All things the long and countless years of Time first draw from darkness, then bury from light," etc. (a play of which there are other reminiscences in Josephus).

[c] *Cf.* §§ 168, 257.

ἡτισοῦν οὐδὲ βάρβαρος,[1] οὐδὲ ἓν ἔθνος, ἔνθα μὴ τὸ τῆς ἑβδομάδος, ἣν ἀργοῦμεν ἡμεῖς, ἔθος[2] διαπεφοίτηκεν, καὶ αἱ νηστεῖαι καὶ λύχνων ἀνακαύσεις καὶ πολλὰ τῶν εἰς βρῶσιν ἡμῖν οὐ νενο-
283 μισμένων παρατετήρηται. μιμεῖσθαι δὲ πειρῶνται καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῶν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἀνάδοσιν καὶ τὸ φιλεργὸν ἐν ταῖς τέχναις καὶ τὸ καρτερικὸν ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων
284 ἀνάγκαις. τὸ γὰρ θαυμασιώτατον, ὅτι χωρὶς τοῦ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐπαγωγοῦ δελέατος[3] αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἴσχυσεν ὁ νόμος, καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ θεὸς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου πεφοίτηκεν, οὕτως ὁ νόμος διὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων βεβάδικεν. αὐτὸς δέ τις ἕκαστος τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐπισκοπῶν τὸν αὑτοῦ τοῖς
285 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγομένοις οὐκ ἀπιστήσει. χρὴ τοίνυν πάντων ἀνθρώπων καταγνῶναι πονηρίαν ἐθελούσιον, εἰ τἀλλότρια καὶ φαῦλα πρὸ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ καλῶν ζηλοῦν ἐπιτεθυμήκασιν, ἢ παύσασθαι
286 βασκαίνοντας ἡμῖν τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπιφθόνου τινὸς ἀντιποιούμεθα πράγματος τὸν αὑτῶν τιμῶντες νομοθέτην καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνου προφητευθεῖσι περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πεπιστευκότες· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ συνίεμεν αὐτοὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν νόμων, πάντως[4] ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ζηλούντων μέγα φρονεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς προήχθημεν.

287 (40) Ἀλλὰ γὰρ περὶ μὲν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἀκριβῆ πεποίημαι παράδοσιν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀρχαιολογίας μοι γραφεῖσι. νυνὶ δ' αὐτῶν

[1] βάρβαρον Niese. [2] ἔθος] τὸ ἔθος δὲ L.
[3] δελέατος Niese: οὐ δελεαστὸς L.
[4] Niese: ἀπάντων L.

one city, Greek or barbarian, nor a single nation, to which our custom of abstaining from work on the seventh day [a] has not spread, and where the fasts and the lighting of lamps [b] and many of our prohibitions in the matter of food are not observed. Moreover, they attempt to imitate our unanimity, our liberal charities, our devoted labour in the crafts, our endurance under persecution on behalf of our laws. The greatest miracle of all is that our Law holds out no seductive bait of sensual pleasure,[c] but has exercised this influence through its own inherent merits; and, as God permeates the universe, so the Law has found its way among all mankind. Let each man reflect for himself on his own country and his own household, and he will not disbelieve what I say. It follows, then, that our accusers must either condemn the whole world for deliberate malice in being so eager to adopt the bad laws of a foreign country in preference to the good laws of their own, or else give up their grudge against us. In honouring our own legislator and putting our trust in his prophetical utterances concerning God, we do not make any arrogant claim justifying such odium. Indeed, were we not ourselves aware of the excellence of our laws, assuredly we should have been impelled to pride ourselves upon them by the multitude of their admirers.

(40) I have given an exact account of our laws and constitution in my previous work on our *Antiquities*. Recapitulation.

[a] Aristobulus finds traces of the Sabbath even in Homer and Hesiod! (Eus. *P.E.* xiii. 12).
[b] *Cf.* § 118.
[c] *Cf.* § 217.

ἐπεμνήσθην ἐφ' ὅσον ἦν ἀναγκαῖον, οὔτε τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ψέγειν οὔτε τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐγκωμιάζειν προθέμενος, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοὺς περὶ ἡμῶν ἀδίκως γεγραφότας ἐλέγξω πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀναιδῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν
288 πεφιλονεικηκότας. καὶ δή μοι δοκῶ πεπληρῶσθαι διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἱκανῶς ἃ προυπεσχόμην. καὶ γὰρ ἀρχαιότητι προυπάρχον ἐπέδειξα τὸ γένος, τῶν κατηγόρων ὅτι νεώτατόν ἐστιν εἰρηκότων,[1] καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν ἐμνημονευκότας ἡμῶν ἀρχαίους παρεσχόμην[2] μάρτυρας, ἐκείνων
289 ὅτι μηδείς ἐστι διαβεβαιουμένων. ἀλλὰ μὴν Αἰγυπτίους ἔφασαν ἡμῶν τοὺς προγόνους· ἐδείχθησαν δ' εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθόντες ἑτέρωθεν. διὰ δὲ λύμην σωμάτων αὐτοὺς ἐκβληθῆναι κατεψεύσαντο· προαιρέσει καὶ περιουσίᾳ ῥώμης ἐφάνησαν ἐπὶ[3]
290 τὴν οἰκείαν ὑποστρέψαντες γῆν. οἱ μὲν ὡς φαυλότατον ἡμῶν τὸν νομοθέτην ἐλοιδόρησαν· τῷ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς πάλαι μὲν ὁ θεός, μετ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ μάρτυς ὁ χρόνος εὕρηται γεγενημένος.
291 (41) Περὶ τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐδέησε λόγου πλείονος. αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἑωράθησαν δι' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀσέβειαν μὲν εὐσέβειαν δ' ἀληθεστάτην διδάσκοντες, οὐδ' ἐπὶ μισανθρωπίαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων κοινωνίαν παρακαλοῦντες, ἀδικίας ἐχθροί, δικαιοσύνης ἐπιμελεῖς, ἀργίαν καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἐξορίζοντες, αὐτ-
292 άρκεις καὶ φιλοπόνους εἶναι διδάσκοντες, πολέμων μὲν ἀπείργοντες εἰς πλεονεξίαν, ἀνδρείους δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἶναι παρασκευάζοντες, ἀπαραίτητοι πρὸς

[1] + καὶ γὰρ L (om. Lat.).
[2] Cobet (with Lat.): παρέσχομεν L.
[3] εἰς Niese.

Here I have alluded to them only so far as was necessary for my purpose, which was neither to find fault with the institutions of other nations nor to extol our own, but to prove that the authors who have maligned us have made a barefaced attack on truth itself. I have, I think, in the present work adequately fulfilled the promise made at the outset.[a] I have shown that our race goes back to a remote antiquity, whereas our accusers assert that it is quite modern. I have produced numerous ancient witnesses, who mention us in their works, whereas they confidently affirm that there is none. They further maintained that our ancestors were Egyptians; it has been shown that they migrated to Egypt from elsewhere. They falsely asserted that the Jews were expelled from that country as physical wrecks[b]; it has been made clear that they returned to their native land of deliberate choice, and thanks to their exceptional physical strength. They reviled our legislator as an insignificant personage; his sterling merits have found a witness of old in God, and, after God, in Time.

(41) Upon the laws it was unnecessary to expatiate. A glance at them showed that they teach not impiety, but the most genuine piety; that they invite men not to hate their fellows, but to share their possessions; that they are the foes of injustice and scrupulous for justice, banish sloth and extravagance, and teach men to be self-dependent and to work with a will; that they deter them from war for the sake of conquest, but render them valiant defenders of the laws themselves; inexorable in punishment, Encomium on the Jewish laws.

[a] *Ap.* i. 2 ff.

[b] Or "for bodily impurity."

τὰς τιμωρίας, ἀσόφιστοι λόγων παρασκευαῖς, τοῖς ἔργοις ἀεὶ βεβαιούμενοι· ταῦτα γὰρ [ἀεὶ] ἡμεῖς
293 παρέχομεν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐναργέστερα. διόπερ ἐγὼ θαρσήσας ἂν εἴποιμι πλείστων ἅμα καὶ καλλίστων ἡμᾶς εἰσηγητὰς τοῖς ἄλλοις γεγονέναι. τί γὰρ εὐσεβείας ἀπαραβάτου κάλλιον; τί δὲ τοῦ
294 πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς νόμοις δικαιότερον; ἢ τί συμφορώτερον τοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμονοεῖν, καὶ μήτ' ἐν συμφοραῖς διίστασθαι μήτ' ἐν εὐτυχίαις στασιάζειν ἐξυβρίζοντας, ἀλλ' ἐν πολέμῳ μὲν θανάτου καταφρονεῖν, ἐν εἰρήνῃ δὲ τέχναις ἢ γεωργίαις προσανέχειν, πάντα δὲ καὶ πανταχοῦ πεπεῖσθαι
295 τὸν θεὸν ἐποπτεύοντα διέπειν; ταῦτ' εἰ μὲν παρ' ἑτέροις ἢ ἐγράφη πρότερον[1] ἢ ἐφυλάχθη βεβαιότερον, ἡμεῖς ἂν ἐκείνοις χάριν ὠφείλομεν ὡς μαθηταὶ γεγονότες· εἰ δὲ καὶ χρώμενοι μάλιστα πάντων βλεπόμεθα καὶ τὴν πρώτην εὕρεσιν αὐτῶν ἡμετέραν οὖσαν ἐπεδείξαμεν, Ἀπίωνες μὲν καὶ Μόλωνες καὶ πάντες ὅσοι τῷ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ λοιδορεῖν χαίρουσιν ἐξεληλέγχθωσαν.

296 Σοὶ δέ, Ἐπαφρόδιτε, μάλιστα τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπῶντι, καὶ διὰ σὲ τοῖς ὁμοίως βουλησομένοις[2] περὶ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν εἰδέναι, τοῦτό τε[3] καὶ τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεγράφθω βιβλίον.

[1] Dindorf: πρῶτον L Lat.
[2] Niese: βουλευσαμένους L.
[3] *ed. pr.*: om. L.

not to be duped by studied words,[a] always supported by actions. For actions are our invariable testimonials, plainer than any documents. I would therefore boldly maintain that we have introduced to the rest of the world a very large number of very beautiful ideas. What greater beauty than inviolable piety? What higher justice than obedience to the laws? What more beneficial than to be in harmony with one another, to be a prey neither to disunion in adversity, nor to arrogance and faction in prosperity; in war to despise death, in peace to devote oneself to crafts or agriculture; and to be convinced that everything in the whole universe is under the eye and direction of God? Had these precepts been either committed to writing or more consistently observed by others before us, we should have owed them a debt of gratitude as their disciples. If, however, it is seen that no one observes them better than ourselves, and if we have shown that we were the first to discover them, then the Apions and Molons and all who delight in lies and abuse may be left to their own confusion.

To you, Epaphroditus, who are a devoted lover of truth, and for your sake[b] to any who, like you, may wish to know the facts about our race, I beg to dedicate this and the preceding book. Dedication.

[a] Or "unsophisticated in oratorical display."
[b] διὰ σέ, "for your sake," but half suggesting "through your kind offices" (διὰ σοῦ) in helping to advertise the work.

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